

Discussions with Hariq

Land Tenure and Transhumance in Indus Kohistan

By

Mohammad Manzar Zarin

and

Ruth Laila Schmidt

BERKELEY WORKING PAPERS ON

SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

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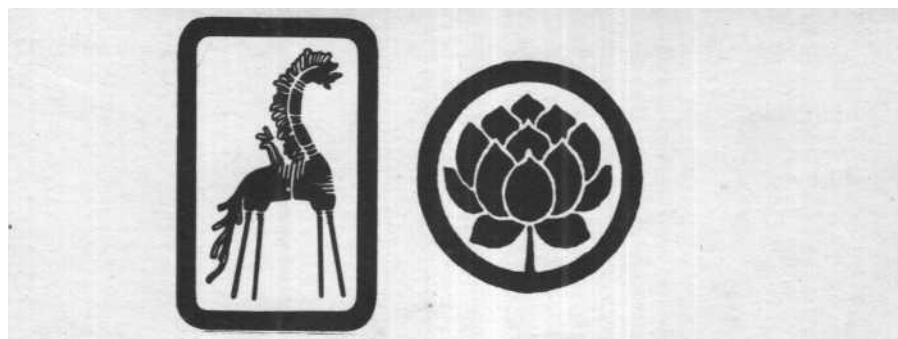
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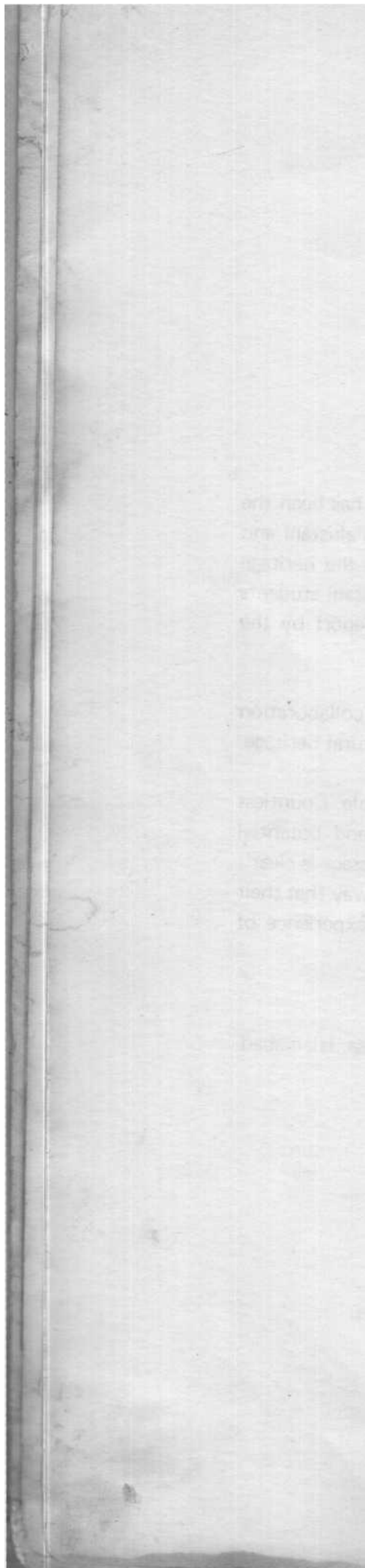
LOK VIRSA P.O. BOX 1184 ISLAMABAD PAKISTAN

Preservation of the wisdom contained in the oral traditions of Pakistan has been the aim of Lok Virsa since its inception. It was thus heartening to know that Pakistani and American scholars have jointly made a significant contribution to recording the heritage of Indus Kohistan. Lok Virsa is reprinting this report for the benefit of Pakistani students and scholars of folklore and the social sciences. Permission to reprint the report by the University of California, Berkeley, is gratefully acknowledged.

Lok Virsa hopes that this report will be an impetus for international collaboration between Pakistani and foreign scholars on all aspects of Pakistan's rich cultural heritage.

Finally, let us not forget that it is Hariq who made this research possible. Countless old men and women in Pakistan are repositories of our oral traditions and potential providers of valuable source material. Hariq is no longer with us, but the message is clear : we must go to them for inspiration and knowledge and preserve it in such a way that their wisdom is not lost to future generations. The traditional respect for the experience of senior citizens is something for all of us to emulate in a scientific manner.

Lok Virsa, Islamabad.



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PREFACE

Since 197^ the Berkeley Urdu Program in Pakistan has provided American students with an opportunity to increase their knowledge of Urdu while deepening their understanding of Pakistani culture and life. Many of these students have returned to Pakistan for further study and research and are now among the leaders of the younger generation of American scholars specializing in Pakistan.

The Berkeley Urdu Program, however, has fostered other kinds of scholarly activity as well. The present publication *Discussions with Hariq* is the result of a productive collaboration between a Pakistani and an American scholar which has resulted in the preservation of a unique account of the history and traditions of Indus Kohistan as narrated by an elder of Palas to the Pakistani scholar, Mohammad Manzar Zarin.

The recent subsequent death of Hariq, a remarkable leader of his people, is a poignant reminder of the urgency of the task which faces Pakistani scholars in recording and preserving their heritage. There are few, if any, besides Hariq who could have narrated the history of his area in such rich and authentic detail.

This invaluable recording is in a language which has just begun to be developed as a literary language. It is known only to a handful of westerners, among them Dr. Ruth Laila Schmidt, field director of two recent Berkeley Urdu Programs. This translation and authoritative commentary were made possible only through close cooperation between a sophisticated native speaker of this language who is dedicated to preserving his people's traditions, and a trained

American linguist.

I am pleased that the Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, which administers the Berkeley Urdu Language Program in Pakistan, is able to make this work available to a wider audience as part of our series of working papers.

I look forward to the continuation of this important scholarly cooperation between the U.S. and Pakistan.

Bruce R. Pray, Director
Berkeley Urdu Language Program in Pakistan
Associate Chairman
Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies

I

INTRODUCTION

The discussions which follow are excerpted from conversations between Ali Khan "Hariq" and one of the authors of this paper, Mohammad Manzar Zarin, of 30 and 31 October, 1980, in Lahore, Pakistan. The conversations, which took place in the Kohis'tyo: [Kohistani] dialect of Shina, were tape recorded .

Hariq was an elder of Palas in Indus Kohistan. In 1980 he was the oldest living male of the Sao'ta *za:t*, reporting his age as **85** years, and was actively responsible for all the affairs of his *za:t* as well as those of a large extended family. A native of Daro village in the Palas valley, he was well-acquainted with local oral traditions and was considered an authority by his own people. Since 1975 he had been residing in Hazro (Campbellpur District). In May 1982, he passed away.

Zarin approached Hariq from the position of a young Kohistani eager to learn more about and to record his own traditions, which he fears are in danger of being lost due to the rapid social and economic changes taking place in the region. Their relationship was one of a young man receiving

instruction from a wis'e and respected elder.

The discussions were translated in the United States by the authors, who also wrote the commentary jointly. Preparation of a bilingual Shina-English text is in progress.

Due to Hariq's death, we were unable to refer any unclear points to him; however it was sometimes possible to clarify details with other Kohistanis of Palas or Jalkot.

The excerpts included here are presented in English, with glosses of important Shina terms. The system of transcription is a modified International Phonetic Alphabet, as adapted by the authors for Kohis'tyo: Shina (Schmidt and Zarin **1981**). An outline of the Kohis'tyo: Shina sound system is presented on pp. 61-62 of the Glossary.

Zarin's questions as well as Hariq's answers are presented in the text. Owing to his age and status, Hariq was very much in charge of the interaction. He was free to digress, contradict himself, or return to a favorite subject. Where the narrative was inconsistent, the inconsistencies could usually be reconciled after a closer examination of the facts. Where possible, we have done so. We have also omitted some digressions and consolidated some repetitions. . In that sense, this is a "free" translation. However, our objective throughout has been to represent faithfully whatever Hariq said—to let him speak for himself.

May his soul rest in peace.

Mohammad Manzar Zarin
Ruth Laila Schmidt
University of California (Berkeley)

The S i: n (Utsi'yaO .Lineages oF Pa-1!as and Tatfkoit

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: m

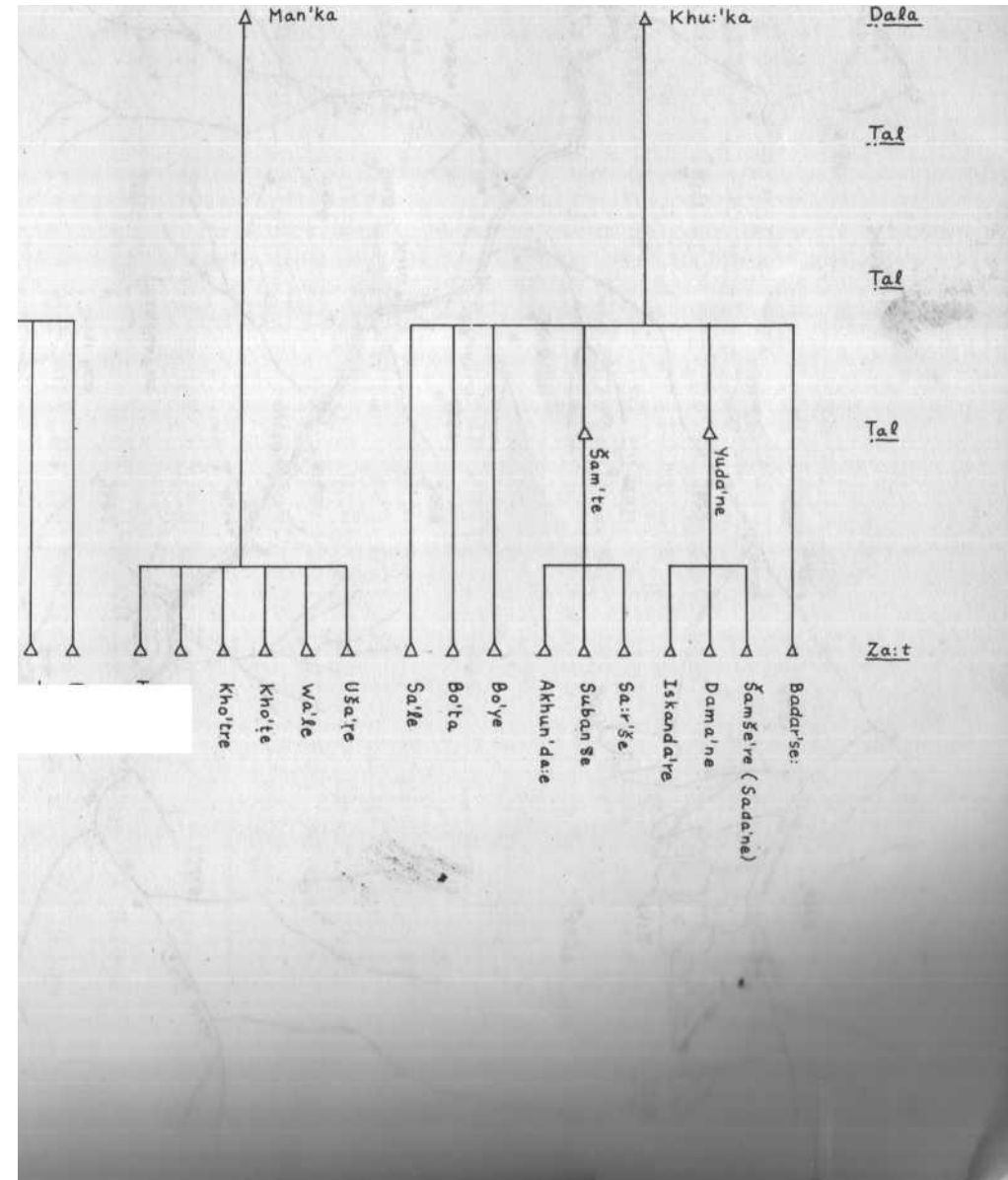
A Dar'ma

A CeVata

A Pos:'se

A 5or'ma

A Phc'r'ye



AA

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Prepared by Mohammad Manz.ar'Zarm of Ja'kkoit , 20 November 1480

[illegible]

II

THE DISCUSSIONS

Oral History of Palas and Jalkot

Hariq: The Dar'ma people have come from a place called Gu're:n, which is in Ci'la : s .¹ Kohistan was an unpopulated place in those days; any person able to cross the Indus River could make fields there. The Dar'ma, a man named Ce'rat,
P
left a brother in Su'na:iki, and crossed the Indus River and came to Kohistan. Islam had not reached Kohistan, and Jalko:t and Pa:las were then ruled by the Sikhs. In those days there were no Khu'ka and no Man'ka. The Dar'ma Ce'rat married a
"3
...
Sikh woman and lived in Kohistan a long time. His younger

All Shina words have been transcribed phonemically (for system of transcription, see the Glossary, p. 61-62. Common place names are transliterated only in the Glossary and at the first occurrence in the text; thereafter the customary spelling is followed.

P
A term used in Palas and Jalkot to refer to the Shina- speaking region north of Seo.

■^Groups (*dalas*) of Si:n lineages (*za:ts*) of Palas, Jalkot and Kolai. See Chart of Lineages, p. 3, for references to descent groups throughout the paper. Hariq mentions that these *dalas* are named after two brothers, Khu:k and Ma'no:k.

Barth and Morgenstierne (1958:120) report that "about half the population of Palas and Jalkot on the east -bank of the Indus were asserted to speak the Patan dialect of Kohistani, while the remainder of the population were said to speak the language of Chilas, and were called Kuk Manuq".

brother, who was named Po'\$:s, later followed him to Kohistan and also married a Sikh woman. He had two sons by her,

4

called To:l and Du* do :k.

In those days, the Palas Valley was ruled from Daro, by a Sikh named Dam Siq . Jalkot was ruled by another Sikh whose name was Boti Sii]. To:l and Du'do:k came down to Palas and killed Dam Sit] in Daro. The mother of To: 1 and Du'do:k lived in a place called Tiy'ya:l in Jalkot, and her sons returned to her there after killing Dam Sig . Boti Sii] was not in Jalkot at the time, but had gone to Chilas, and he heard the news there. To:l and Du'do:k intended to kill him also, because they had accepted Islam, and were opposed to Sikhi-sm^ They wanted to kill all the Sikh rulers of the region.

At that time, Islam was not generally known to the people of Kohistan, but the ancestor of the Sor'ma *tal*^ had gone secretly to the Syeds of Kro:r, which is a place in Swat, and had converted to Islam there. This was not yet public knowledge. When the ancestor of the Sor'ma accepted Islam, he began to make converts among his relatives, until he con-

^Leitner (1889) reports a variant of this name as occurring among Astori men as *Duduk*, 'flute' (p. 81) and among Gilgiti men as *Duduk*, 'one who sits down' (p.87).

The name *Sir*) [Singh] cannot be construed as proof of religious affiliation. Biddulph (1880:99) mentions that "of the Shin names a great number have the suffix of *Sing*, which is retained in spite of the conversion of the people to Mohammedanism" .

^See Chart of Lineages, p. 3, for the relationship of Ce'rat and Po'\$:s to the ancestor of the Sor'ma *tal*. *Ce'rat* means 'three shares (*rato*, n.m., 'share'; section [of a *tal*']). A *tal* is a group of lineages. See Glossary. verted most of them.

The ancestor of the Khuko-Man'ka was the son of a poet. He also accepted Islam. In those days, Muslims used to take a newly converted Muslim into their brotherhood, and in this way he was taken in brotherhood by the descendants of

Ce'rat and Po'*:s.

For a long time, the Dar'ma who still lived in Chilas continued to inform the Khuko-Man'ka about the trouble given them by non-Muslims there. Raiding parties were sent from Palas and Jalkot on numerous occasions, to attack non-Muslims and to help their *data* members there. Finally the Muslims of

7

Kohistan conquered Chilas.

In the course of this fighting, a man's body floated down the Indus to Palas, near the place called Ku:l; this place is now known as Ga:zia:ba:d in official records because the martyr's body is buried there. This man, who died in the battle for Chilas, had belonged to Palas. He had said, "If I am truly fighting in the cause of Islam, my body will float down to my native place after I am killed." When this happened, the people of both Patan and Palas claimed his body. Finally

they tossed strawa and^g the people of Palas received custody

⁷
'Biddulph 1880 and Leitner 1893 provide accounts of the conflict. See Commentary, pp. 39-^0.

8

Tu:Li, or 'toss' in Kohis'tyo: Shina. It requires three people. One person, who cannot see or hear the other two, holds two straws. The second person tells the third person that if a certain straw is thrown by the first, the body may be claimed by Palas; but if the other- straw is thrown, it may be claimed by Patan. The first person decides which straw to throw, and this determines the outcome.

of the body. His tomb is close to the large mosque in Ku:l.

Zarin: We have learned that Ga:zi ṣa'hi:d belonged to Palas, but do you know which *data* he belonged to?

Hariq: That's not known. After a long time, the Khuko-Man'ka multiplied, so people decided to distribute the arable,

9

but uncultivated land among themselves. This distribution, which was called

was practiced every three years. The people of Ko:li [Kolai] , who are called Ko'lo:c, are all descended from the Khuko-Man'ka. The Khuko-Man'ka wanted half of Palas as their share, which the Dar'ma refused because the Khuko-Man'ka were not equal in numbers to them. Since the Dar'ma claimed a numerical majority, they would not give the Khuko-Man'ka a half share. This was a source of endless dispute, quarrels and conflict. The Khuko-Man'ka enlisted allies from A'la [Alai] and Kolai to help them fight the Dar'ma.¹ In Šar'ko:t the Dar'ma contingent numbered 400 men. The people from Alai and Kolai provoked them into

9

A special term, *kh.il*, is used for arable but uncultivated land.

■¹The Si:n Kohistan! system of *we:&* in its early stage was based on the allocation of equally divided shares [*vato*, sg.] of land to dualistically opposed socio-political groups (the *dalas*). Jettmar (1983:511) points out that this practice was undoubtedly borrowed from the Pakhtun of Swat; however, among the Si:n the *dalas* were, or were construed as, descent groups. The inherent impossibility of such groups' balancing in size led to conflict, and to subsequent modifications of the system.

¹Biddulph (1880:11) commented: "Land in Palus is plentiful, and much remains uncultivated. As has already been observed, this abundance has for some time caused the envy of the more crowded populations of Alai and Koli." fighting. The Dar'ma went up to a mountain peak which is called Ham'bo:ti, called the *a:za:n* there, and the battle

12

began. Despite the fact that they were all Muslims, they inflicted heavy casualties on each other. For an entire year, people were unable to use water flowing from the springs except right at the source, because the water everywhere was polluted from the corpses of the men killed in that battle. There were not enough men left alive to bury the dead. All the men of Ba:n'di: and Rup Ga'ni:,¹ which are two villages, were wiped out in that battle. The chief of the A'la was also killed.

They fought again some time later in Le:'di.¹ This time it was the Ko'lo:c who attacked the Dar'ma. The Ko'lorc lost so badly that a man of the

Ci'the **za:t**, named Torr'ya, brought down twelve Khuko-Man'ka captives singlehandedly, pushing them to make them walk. They were taken to 3ar'ko:t village in Palas and killed in great disgrace.

Zarin: When did that happen?

Hariq: Probably a hundred years ago. The Ko'lo:c made every possible effort, but could not make good their claim. They claimed Gan'ja: as theirs also, but could not get it either. Gan'ja: is a place on the banks of the 5ar'ya:l

12

The calling of the **a:za:n** indicates that the Dar'ma claimed religious justification for their battle.

iq

These are mentioned (as Bandai and Roopganai) by Biddulph (1880:6) as two small villages in the Alai Valley.

14

The highest pasture in Palas, famous for the poetry composed there. See also p. 42, n. 75.

River. A mountain called Bi'tei Thoiki was the boundary between Kolai and Palas in the old days.

They also claimed ownership of Ga'be:r. In fact, Ga'berr had formerly belonged to the Khuko-Man'ka of Palas, but they had given it to the Ko'lo:c because they wanted
«
their help. Ga'be:r is still owned by the Ko'lo:c. When they could not exterminate the Dar'ma, the Khuko-Man'ka stopped fighting.^

The *We:f*

Hariq: La:l Xa: [Lai Khan] was a Dar'ma, and it was he who fixed the boundaries of Su'na:iki, Palas and Jalkot.

17

Co'thei Be'sorm is a place between Jalkot and Palas, which was taken as the boundary between them by La:l Xa:.

Zarin: Do you know which place in Palas-Jalkot was populated first?

Hariq: Palas was settled first, and some people from Palas migrated up to Jalkot. Descendants of the Dar'ma, Khu'ka and Man'ka are found in both Jalkot and Palas, and all three *dalas* have shares in both places. There is a place

18

between Jalkot and Palas, called Ka:rsei Bos. People from 15
'Summit of *Biti*'. See Glossary.

^A sarcastic allusion to Kohistani warfare: the Ko'lo:c could not win because there were too many Dar'ma for the outnumbered Ko'lo:c to kill them all.

17

'Slope of *Cothi*'. See Glossary.

1 8

'Cliff of *Ka:ras*'. See Glossary.

Palas of all three *dalas* migrated toward Jalkot beyond

Karrsei Bos and staked their claim to the uncultivated land

there even though land beyond Karrsei Bos did not come under

19

the authority of or internal distributions. *We:s* was done only in Daro in the Palas main valley; and later on extended to other parts of Palas. People hold the same property which was given to them in the in ancient times. They have unrestricted rights over its use, and may sell it.

Zarin: Why did people migrate to Jalkot?

Hariq: There was an abundance of arable land there, so people moved to bring it under cultivation. Eventually they had a in Jalkot, too. However land which lay outside the main valley did not fall under the authority of *we:3*, but came under the sole ownership of the person who brought it under cultivation. *We:s* was practiced every three years in former times, and every adult male was entitled to his share.^{1 2}

Zarin: How long has it been since the *we:s* was discontinued?

Hariq: There has been no *we:s* for the last approximately one hundred years, which has caused great loss to the people. Weak people who became involved in enmity migrated out of

21

Kohistan after leaving their land in trust with others. .

After the passage of time, such people were in no position to reclaim their

1

The specific term for distribution of land within the *data* is *euk'nei bag 'ya:ran*, or 'distribution of that which is unutilized'. This type of distribution took place after land had been divided between the three major *dalas*. See p. 15, n. 27.

2

A male was considered to attain adulthood at fifteen. **e:s* was practiced at three-year intervals to permit newly adult males to receive their share.

land, ownership of which was claimed by the people who had taken it in trust. This has caused enmity and hatred, and has been a source of discord in Kolai, Palas and Jalkot.

Zarin: Do the Ko'lorc people have any enmity with the

22

Pal'so:c now?

Hariq: They have no enmity with the Pal'so:c now.

Zarin: Does any Ko'lo:c have any personal enmity with any Pal¹so:c?

Hariq: Some of' them do have individual enmities. They don't get the opportunity to take revenge because of government control.

: Ka'min people don't own land, houses or property in Palas or Jalkot, because the people of Palas and Jalkot reckoned them as outside the Si:n lineages, and did not want them to acquire land or houses, or to gain a sufficiently strong position to create trouble.

Zarin: Who are the Ka'mins?

on

Ra'ha:n, 'trust', refers to the money taken by the owner of the land as security. This amount must be returned when the land is reclaimed. In the meanwhile, the person who has given **ra'ha:n** has the right to farm or graze the land.

2 2

A **Pal'sorc** is a native of Palas, as a **Ko'Lo:c** is a native of Kolai.

21

Hariq: Ka'mins are also called **be:'za:t** and include
P 1L

Gu:'jar, Sarxa'li:, A'khar, Jo'la: and Do:m. They don't own property in Palas,, Jalkot or Kolai.

Zarin: Have the Sarxa'li': acquired any houses or land?

Hariq: No, they .still don't own their own houses or land, or any kind of property in Palas, Jalkot or Kolai, although they may accumulate enormous herds of buffaloes and goats. In former days, some **za:ts** brought them to Palas and Jalkot, taking them into brotherhood in numbers that were too insignificant to permit their mustering sufficient manpower to carry on feuds. The **za:ts** belonging to the Phir'ye **tal**, Faqi'ra and Komi'la, brought them to the region, taking them into their brotherhood. The Phir'ye were few in number, so they brought a carpenter family from Uphal [in Swat] and a

21

This term means that the Ka'mins are excluded from the Si:n lineages (**za:ts**).

24

Gu:'jars are herdsmen who are ethnically and linguistically' distinct from the Si:n. A'khars are blacksmiths; Jo'la:s are weavers who make the locally used woollen cloth and blankets, and Do:ms are hereditary musicians. The Sar'xali are an agricultural group of unclear origin. Inter-marriage between Si:n and Sarxa'li: is not allowed, and at feasts, when people eat from one large platter, the Sarxa'li: may not eat from the same platter as the Si:n. Some Kohistanis describe the Sarxa'li: as smallholding farmers, and Hariq also mentions (p. 25) that they were given plots of land. His insistence on their landless status here may reflect the influence of Pakhtun thinking, where ownership of land and social status as Pakhtun are inseparable (Lindholm 1982:56).

Jettmar (1980:40) states that "Everywhere the Shina- speakers are divided into four basic nations or castes: Shins, Yeshkuns, Kamins and Dorns". Yeṣ'ku:ns are mentioned by Hariq only once (p. 14); according to other Kohistani ṣi:ns, they are smallholding farmers who have lived in Kohistan "since ancient times". Hariq later mentions another group, the Ci'li:s, whom he includes among the Ka'mins. Other Kohistanis rank them above the Sarxa'li:.

Do:m family from Kolai, and took them into their brotherhood in order to increase their numbers and to be able to get half shares from the Sor'ma. The carpenter's name was Is'haiq * and the Doim's ^narne was Cu:t!p/ At present the Phir'ye consist

of four **za:ts**. The Ci'the and Is'ka are now numerous,
because they also took some YeS'ku:n into their brotherhood.

25

But the real Phir'ye are Komila and Faqi'ra.

The people of Palas were aggressive; they competed
fiercely to increase the amount of land under their control.
They siezed land adjoining areas they controlled and gave it

2 6

to others as **pat'ka** [gift] .

Zarin: Where did **auk'nei bag 'ya:ran** take place?

Hariq: It took place in both Palas and Jalkot.

Zarin: What precisely does **auk'nei bag'ya:van** mean?

25

Hariq is counting the Faqi'ra, who have split into two **za:ts**,
as a single group.

Ka'mins who were taken into brotherhood acquired the same rights and
privileges as their adopting **za:ts**. They received support in disputes, and
were permitted to buy land. Their descendants have acquired the status of the
adopting **za:t**, and intermarry with other Si:n. Their original ancestry has
not been forgotten, however, and is sometimes referred to as a harsh form c
' abuse.

This reciprocal process, by which the Si:n settlers mustered additional
claimants for shares of land, and the Ka'mins acquired the advantages of a
higher social status, fell into disuse after the **wewas** abandoned.

Sir Aurel Stein passed through Uphal in his search for Aornos, in
eastern Swat Kohistan (Stein 1929:112-113).

2 6

'Gift', in a general sense (the term refers to a length of cloth worn
around the waist). More precise terms are **ago**, 'head shawl' (in the case of
women), and **pag'ri:**, 'turban'. Both terms signify gifts to relatives. **Ago** is
the ceremonial head shawl worn by a bride at her marriage. As it is very finely
embroidered, its preparation takes years. It is an essential symbol of a woman's
married status, and is worn after marriage by a woman when attending other
weddings.

Hariq: For example, if two **za:ts** claim descent from
the same ancestor, and one **za:t** has fewer members than the
other, the smaller **za:t** will take some members from the
larger one in order to equalize their numbers and permit
division of the land in equal shares. This process is

called *cuk'nei bag'ya:ran*.

Let's take the example of the Sor'ma *tal*. The Phu-

2 8

'phura, formerly called Mom'ra, are *ca:r* of the Sor'ma.

Being comparatively few in number, there were not enough

of them to justify their receiving a share equal to that

allotted to the Sor'ma *za:t*. So in place of the name Mom'ra

they were given the name Phu'phura, and the Phu'phura formed

29

an alliance with the major section of the Haki'ma, the

27

cuk'nei bag'ya:van, 'division of that which is unutilized (or does not belong to anyone)', is derived from the causative stem of *ba'go:n*, 'to divide'. The focus of the process was distribution of arable but uncultivated land (*khil*) and grazing land (*ba:nd*) among *tals* and *za:ts*. As the process was based on a principle of division of land into equal half-shares, various strategies were adopted for equalizing the sizes of the groups who received the shares. Some *za:ts* also took non-Si:n members into brotherhood in order to increase their size (see the example of the Phir'ye, pp. 13-1-

We were unable to find an independent occurrence of the nominative singular form of *cuk'nei* (which is in the. genitive singular), but compare its occurrence in another idiom, *cuk'ne puc*, 'son of nobody (bastard)'.

2 8

Ca:r, 'direction, side' is applied to any segment of a larger descent group. The the.Mom'ra *za:t* was *ca:r* to the Sor'ma *tal*. The discussion here concerns a distribution of land among *za:ts* within the *tal*.

2 9

The *La: Haki'ma* ('Many Haki'ma'; see Glossary). *Phu'phura* means 'something light which floats in the air; weak'.

Sao'ta, and the Az'ta of Ga'be:r. These four **za:ts** were given jointly a single share equivalent to the one given the Sor'ma **za:t**. Such alliances took place in Palas* Daro and Jalkot.

Zarin: Can you tell me when this happened?

Hariq: It happened in the same way in more than two **we:S**. We can say roughly, a hundred years ago. There was no further after that. In the first and second **we:£, ba:nd** (grazing land) and high mountain pastures, as well as agricultural land, were distributed. Thereafter only agricultural land was divided.

Zarin: Who was the most significant person behind all these decisions?

Hariq: That person was called La:l. La:l was the son of Xwa:s, of the Sam'ka **za:t** in the Sor'ma **tal**. The last **we:~&** took place in the time of Sa:'dat Ma'lik, who was the son of La:l and the elder of all the **jir'ga:s**. People obeyed all his wishes, orders and advice. Elders from all **za:ts** were delegated to a **jir'ga:** in which all problems were discussed, after which Sa:'dat Ma'lik made the final decision. Sa:'dat Ma'lik's objective was to equalize the number of men in each **za:t** by reassigning excess members of larger **za:ts** to smaller ones, provided both **za:ts** belonged to the same **tal**.

He gave Ga'da:r and Kun'&e:r to the Khuko-Man'ka, and

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Hariq is complaining that the practice of distributing various kinds of grazing land has been discontinued.

Pa:r and Khal³ 4ya:r to the Dar'ma in Palas.[^] The Khuko-Man'ka then brought land in Da'na and Xo:'ri, adjoining Ga'darr, under cultivation. The Dar'ma brought land in Daro under cultivation.

Then an internal *we:3* took place. The Khuko-Man'ka owned *ba:nd* between the Mo'ru River [a mountain stream in Palas] and the village Khab'ko:t. The narrow stream along the Mo'ru was included in the Khuko-Man'ka *ba:nd*, along with neighboring mountains and forests. The Dar'ma owned land, mountains and forests upriver {*guchev*) from there. They also owned a summer *ba:nd* upriver: Ler'di Co:ro and Ni:lu Gha: as well as the land surrounding their habitations.

Shares like these were originally given to major *tals*, but the subsequent *we:&* took place internally, within the *tal*. The land was then divided again after balancing the sizes of the *za:ts* by forming groups of *za:ts* with equal total numbers of members. In this kind of *we:s*, the elders and wise people formed a *jir'ga:* in which each *tal* was represented. The function of the *jir'ga:* was to apportion shares to each *tal*. This kind of land distribution took place, in the same way, among all the major *tals*: Dar'ma, Khu'ka, Man'ka, Po\$: 'se, Ce'rata, and Phir'ye.

[^]Ga'da:r and Kun'Serr are settlements lying on tributaries of the Indus between Palas and Jalkot; Pa:r is located downriver from Ga'da:r. See map.

32

'Downriver' is *hueer*.

4.

of *gha:*, 'Blue River'. In the Jalkoti dialect the aspiration 'stream', is lost: *ga:.*

Zarin: What happened in the case of the Ko'lofc? Did they ever receive any kind of share in Palas?

Hariq: The Ko'lo:c were included in the first *we:&*, along with Jalkot and Palas. During the time of Xwa:s, the Ko'lo:c used to give land to Ka'mins. Xwa:s objected to this practice on the grounds that it would equalize the status of Ka'mins and Si:ns. He distinguished between the Ko'lo:c region on one hand, and the Pal'so:c and Jalko:'ti: region on the other; and thereafter the Ko'lo:c had their own *we:%* in their own territory, and were able to give land to Ka'mins only in Ko'lai.

There is a mountain between Kolai and Palas, known as Bo\$, which is considered the boundary between the two areas. But the Khuko-Man'ka agreed to give some of their own land to the Ko'lo:c, including Gan'ja: and a few places in Palas, such as lower Ga'be:r and places in the vicinity of Ga'be:r. Then the Dar'ma fought with the Khuko-Man'ka and took Gan'ja: back from the Ko'lo:c. It still belongs to the Dar'ma.

The Ko'lo:c were not included in the *we:S* with the Pal'so:c or the Jalko:'ti:, but the Khuko-Man'ka of Palas did support their claim to some land held by the Dar'ma in Palas and Daro. People from Alai were also enlisted by the Khuko-Man'ka in support of the Ko'lo:c in their dispute with the Dar'ma. During the time of La:l (who was a Dar'ma), the people of Kolai had an interest in the distribution of land

_ qii

In Kho'jo: Kan'dao ('Peak of Consent'), which lies at the source of the Xur'gi: River in Palas. The oldest female ancestor in our *tal* was married to a Ko'lo:c named Xwa:ja, in Kolai. Another was married to a Pat'no:c named Do'ra:n, in Patan. A third was married into a Sayyid family in Kro:r. These three ancestors were all sisters....

Zarin: Do you know the name of the Sayyid in Kro:r, to whom she was married?

Hariq:and another female ancestor was married to

16 5 6

a man in Khi'li. Her descendants, named Sau'ba:n Ma'lik and Gul'Se:r Ma'lik, still live in Khi'li.

Zarin: Do you know their *za:t*?

Hariq: I don't know. At the time of the *we: 8* of

Xur'gi: in Palas, some people were invited by the "grandmother"

[oldest female ancestor] of the family. A great number of

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people went there and stayed for a night. They were fed by slaughtering a goat in the evening and an ox in the morning, for the midday meal. At the time of departure, she accompanied them. When they reached a large rock near Xur'gi:, Grandmother made an excuse to return. At this, the other Dar'ma people

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Kho'jo: is the genitive plural of *khojyo*, 'consent', indicating consent by more than one person. See Glossary.

^"Our *tal*" is Ce'rata, in the case of Hariq.

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Khi'li (place name) is the plural of *khiL*, 'arable but uncultivated land'.

17

A *we:8* was an important social occasion upon which hospitality was given.

told her, "It is you who have shortened your *ago*". But the Dar'ma elder addressed the others, saying, "We are going*to give the land beyond this large rock to Grandmother as *ago*" ^

And he told them to make objections, if they had any, immediately. In fact, their intention had been to give her land in equal measure to the distance she walked with them. But the leader of the group said, "As she has honored us by slaughtering a goat and an oxj and has been very hospitable to us, now in return I have decided to give the land beyond this point, to honor her. If any one of you objects, now is the time to say so."

All the people agreed with his decision. That's why the point where this event took place is called *Kho'jo: Kan'dao*, which means 'Peak of Consent'. That mountain is quite suitable for sowing maize, and plenty of grass is available there. But no *we:S* has taken place since then.

The Man'ka asked Sai'dat to include them in the Dar'ma share, claiming that otherwise they would not get anything from the Khu'ka. So Sa:'dat did include the Man'ka with his own *data*, and the Khu'ka and Pos:'se were joined together. The *ba:nd we:S* was done in this manner.

After that, the of agricultural land was done within the *data*. First, the Khuko-Man'ka and Dar'ma were given equal

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^j See p. 14, n. 26. *Ago* means 'head shawl' and also 'gift to a female relative'. A host is expected to show respect to his guests by accompanying for some distance on their departure, and the Dar'ma party apparently felt that they had not been accompanied far enough.

For the reason that there were not enough of them.
 shares; then the Ce'rata and Po«:'se *tals* were given equal
 shares; then the Phir'ye and Sor'ma *tals* were given equal
 shares; and then the Phu'phura and Sor'ma *za:ts* were considered
 for equal shares. At this point they took the principle a step

further. The Sao'ta and Haki'ma were joined to the Sermal'ka, and the Sao'ta, La: Haki'ma, dermal'ka and Kar'ma were all grouped together. Still they were fewer in number than the Sor'ma **za:t**. So the Az'ta of Ga'be:r were added to the first group to balance them against the Sor'ma **za:t**.

Zarin: Did all this reshuffling of people from one **za:t** to another, or one **tal** to another, cause any enmity among the people?

Hariq: No case of this happened; everybody in every **za:t** agreed to the decisions made by the elders. The men in each family took their shares; a man's share was called **mos**

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bag'yo in Kohis'tyo:. The share of a woman was called **tago**.

A male child had a share equivalent to that of an adult woman. According to this principle, three women or three male children were reckoned as equivalent to one adult male. This system has now been given up, and **Sari'ya:t** laws of distribution are being observed, according to which a male child receives a full share and a female receives half of this (or two daughters

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Some **za:ts** also took more members (see the example of the Phir'ye, pp. 13-14).

41

bag'yo, 'share' (See Glossary). **Tago** means '(small) share' and amounted to one third of a **mo£ bag'yo**. This practice has been abandoned.

receive the share of one son).

If a **za:t** has no members to represent it in Palas or Jalkot, that does not mean that the **za:t** will be deprived of its share. Before migrating out of Kohistan, members of a **za:t** may leave their land in trust with other people, who till it; and whenever they return they are entitled to reclaim their share. We always have a half share with the La: Haki'ma in Palas and Jalkot, because in the we:& we were joined to them

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in Palas, Jalkot and Daro.

Zarin: Is it true that Sa:'dat Ma'lik had an unvoiced intention, at the time of the we:S, to give useful and profitable land to the **za:ts** in his own **tal**? Is there any account of that?

Hariq: He didn't cause loss to any **za:t**\ He was quite fair in distributing the land to people of other **tals**\ He was pure-hearted and did not deceive anyone! People who had any kind of dispute following the **we:S** used to go to him for a solution, and they agreed completely with the solution he found.

4 2

Our data does not contain any information about whether, in fact, Shariat laws of inheritance are being observed in Kohistan.

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This condition provides for people who are not living in Kohistan, but wish to retain the land tenure rights attached to their lineage membership. At present, land is not redistributed among **za:ts** or **tals**, but if the Government of Pakistan cuts timber on lineage land, payment is made to the elders, who then divide it among those **za:ts** who are represented in the area at the time the timber is cut, in proportion to the number of adult males in each **za:t**. If all the members of a **za:t** reside outside Kohistan, they send a representative to collect their share of the proceeds.

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Hariq resides outside Kohistan. Here he is referring to the **za:ts** in his own **tal** (the Ce'rata).

People relied on him completely.

Zarin: Did people have any dispute between **za:ts**, after

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Hariq: Yes, there were many troubles.

Zarin: What kind of troubles? Who had those troubles, after the we:&?

Hariq: Actually, they did not dispute the decisions made by Sa:'dat Ma'lik, but people had disputes over the issue of distribution of land among families, within a **za:t**.

Zarin: Did Sa:'dat Ma'lik keep any important points in mind regarding the conditions for a satisfactory combination of **za:ts** for the purpose of the we;&?

Hariq: He was quite straightforward. He had no intention of deceiving people. He was sincere to everyone in every **za: t**.

Zarin: What I mean, is whether he kept any considerations of a geographical nature in mind, when finalizing the apportionment of shares to any **za:t**.

Hariq: Yes. He made this point clear, to all the

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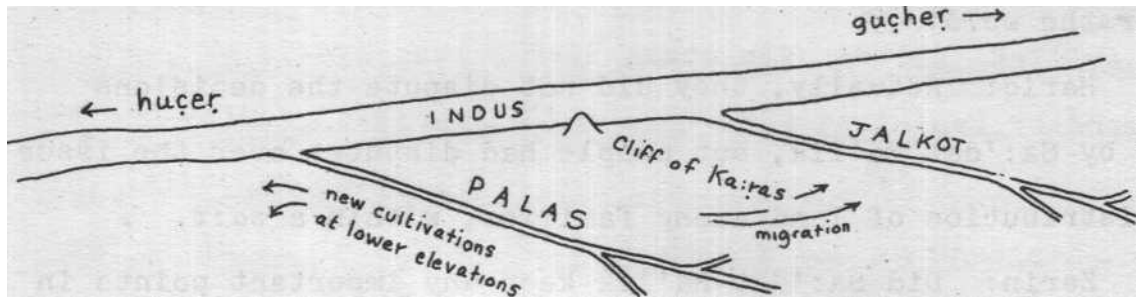
people in Kolai, Jalkot, Su'na:iki, Palas and Daro, that the land through which a river flows must go to the community that lives there.^

44 ~ Hariq is naming all the regions recognised by Kohis'tyo: speakers, along the entire left bank of the Indus.

46

Sa:dat Ma'lik insisted that both banks of the streams flowing through inhabited valleys should be under control of the same community. See illustration, p. 24. This principle did not apply to the Indus, but only to its tributaries. "Community" means the actual residents of the area, of whatever **dalas**, **tals**, or **za:ts**.

Control of the Indus Tributaries



Land on both sides of a tributary of the Indus was considered "close" land. Sa:'dat Ma'lik's principle provided that both banks should be under the control of a single community; i.e., the stream should not be taken as a boundary. This principle is related to *Su'fari haq*, 'pre-emptive right', which stipulates that land may not be offered for sale to non-relatives unless the seller's relatives are unable to buy it themselves.

That this principle did not apply to the Indus is clear from the Discussions, in which it is apparent that the Indus constituted an important boundary as well as a line of defence: fugitives who crossed the Indus to escape from an enemy on the right bank (and vice versa) were generally secure on the left- bank. Sa:'dat Ma'lik rejected the extension of this custom to the smaller, more easily crossed Indus tributaries.

The Sarxa'li: have come from across the Indus. Xwa:s advised people to keep them as servants. The people of Kohistan used to engage in protracted feuds, so they wanted the Sarxa'li: to take care of their cattle, land and domestic tasks. Land had already been distributed among the higher **za:ts**. Kam'ri had been given to the Khuko-Man'ka. It is beyond Kun'Serr. The Dar'ma were given Masi. In Masi the Sarxa'li: were taken as servants by the local **za:ts**, and given plots of land, to enable them to earn a living. They paid a tax on that land, called **qala:rj**. They served the local people by carrying messages to different places; and the tax they paid was used to defray expenses incurred by a **za:t** when they were engaged in warfare against another **za:t**. The Sarxa'li: still till the land given them to live on, but they don't own property. They are treated as servants. They may own cattle, but must render obedience to their masters. This happened only in Palas. The Jalko:'ti: didn't take Sarxa'li: servants. Instead, they gave land to lower **za:ts** like Ci'li:s and other Ka'min, turning them into landowners themselves, and with the passage of time they merged with the local Si:n **za:ts**. Finally the Ka'min quit serving the local Si:n, and now the Jalkor'ti: have to do their own work. In Jalkot, both the Dar'ma and the Khuko-Man'ka took some Ci'Lirs into brotherhood, but the Dar'ma did not give them any land, while the Khuko- Man 'ka gave them a share in the **we:S**, which eventually turned them into independent land holders. Now there are no longer any Sarxa'li: in the Jalkot main valley; the Ci'li:s are

ranked with the Khuko-Man'ka. The Dar'ma had not given any land to the Ci'li:s, nor taken them into brotherhood, because the Dar'ma were wise and didn't want to make them landowners.

Lands occupied by flour mills, or *yd:s*, in Palas, Daro and Jalkot are considered communal property.

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In Palas, an *i'mam* was given a share of public land, to honor him (which could however only be held during his lifetime, not inherited by his descendants). That *i'mam* was an A'khar [blacksmith] . In Jalkot, people were less prudent.

They took Sayyids as equal to *i'mams*, and gave them communal land which they distributed among themselves. In this way their social status was maintained, and they became ranked as Si:n. In Palas, people gave a share only to the person who worked as permanent *i'mam* of a community, and refused to give

shares <to other religious families (relatives of an *i'mam*, or

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descendants of any *mho: 'la:*, *xa'tih*, or to Sayyids).

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The Dar'ma, Hariq asserts, did not give land to the Ci'li:s (in Jalkot at least). However the Ci'li:s are lumped with the Sarxa'li: in the narrative, and Hariq also states (p. 25) that in Masi (a place which was given to the Dar'ma), the Sarxa'li: were given plots of land from which to earn a living. This confusion has been retained in the translation, since the authors are not in a position to verify the facts.

The reader may also refer to p. 13, n. 24.

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Imam, the person who leads prayers in the mosque.

49

Maulvi, a religious scolar.

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Khatib, a type of maulvi who possesses religious learn ing and who delivers the sermon on Friday.

They did not want an *i'mam* to be impoverished or lack respect, so they agreed to help him by giving him the land in the vicinity of the mosque, and also by helping him with gifts of money or grain on various occasions. This was the practice in Palas. The people of Palas have demonstrated their intelligence by doing this; that's the reason that people of Jalkot and other surrounding areas, such as Daro, and Kolai, too, go to the people of Palas before doing any *we:8*, to seek their suggestions and counsel.

Zarin: Do Si:n give their daughters to Sarxa'li:?

Hariq: No, they don't practice that. They don't give their daughters to them in marriage.

Zarin: Is there any example of it?

Hariq: No, there is not a single example.

Zarin: Do you know whether it has happened among the Sarxa'li: living outside Kohistan?

Hariq: I don't know if anything has happened there, but I am sure about Palas and Jalkot. There is no possibility of such a thing happening.

There is a place called Cak'ki Se:r in Swat. The Sarxa'li: are ranked among the higher castes there. They are

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considered Ulsi'ya:. Some Sarxa'li:, after becoming involved in enmity, left that area and migrated to other places.

Zarin: Do people in Cak'ki Se:r speak Kohis'tyo:?

Hariq: No, they speak Pakhto. But those who have mi-

Ulsi'ya: is an alternative term for ***Si:n***.

grated to Kohistan speak both Pakhto and Kohis'tyo:. They have not given up their native language, but they also speak Kohis'tyo:.

Zarin: Where did the Sarxa'li: from Cak'ki Se:r go?

Hariq: They migrated to Palas. They had fights with other people in Cak'ki Se:r, which weakened them; and finally they left the area. Now they earn their living by providing services to people of higher **za:ts** in Palas. There are no Sarxa'li: from Cak'ki Se:r in Jalkot.

Zarin: What are they called in Palas?

Hariq: They are called Sarxa'li:. They were distributed by the local **za:ts** and were not entitled to any share in the ^{ITO} **we:&**, but were given small plots of land by some **za:ts**^p to provide them a subsistence.

Transhumance

The people of Kohistan had their **we: 8** at three different elevations: **sin ka'ri:** [the bank of the Indus River], **hu:n aji** ['up there']³ and **khanej aji** [on top of the mountain]. They distributed land in all three types of terrain. They used to migrate, and they still migrate, in different seasons from one place to another. They climb high into the mountains in search of grass for their cattle, and also to have pleasant

^{^2}But not (he implies) by the Sao'ta.

See Commentary, p. 52. **Ku:n aji** actually refers to two distinct stages in the transhumance cycle, each possessing its own name: **ma'ji se:v**, 'the middle fields', and **ba'zo:do bek**, 'spring habitation'. There is also a name for the high mountain pastures: **ma:Li**. weather. They migrate back to the lower elevations in **\$av'La:m**, which means 'the onset of autumn' in local idiom.

In winter they reach **sin ka'vi:** again. They have farms 54 everywhere; their main occupation is farming. During the winter, land at the

high elevations remains untended.

Whole villages exist up there, and also *beks* [habitations] . All the *mho:'la:s*, religious students, and the entire population goes up there and gathers together. They have 55 *hug 'vas* and mosques. But they have poor houses; they build simple houses because they can't afford cement.

Whatever practices they have at the high elevations, they resume them down at *sin ka'vi:*. I mean, they keep a *hug'va*, large mosque, and village of clay houses. They also maintain social interactions in the same way. People from 56 different *tabs* meet there. The villages at *sin ka'vi:* are called *yo'duki zde:* ['winter place] '.^{ππ}

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See Commentary, pp. 56-57- Cultivation is carried on at *sin ka'vi:*, *ma'gi se:v*, and *ba'zo:do bek*.

5 5

A building set aside as a meeting place for men; unmarried adult men sleep in the *hug'va*.

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See Commentary, pp. 59-60. The highest pastures and the Indus River represent the poles of the migration pattern; but they are similar in that both are essentially non-permanent habitations, as well as places where people from different descent groups come into contact. *Ma'gi se:v*, by contrast, is the center of Si:n economic life, and is focused on activities carried out within the descent group.

■^The entire bank of the Indus throughout Indus Kohistan is called *sin ka'vi:*; the term *yo'duki zee:* refers to individual settlements.

By the end of *Bee: 'sa:k* [Baisakh, the month of April- May] people leave *sin ka'ri:* and move up to *ma'ji se:r*, after handing over their land to their tenants or their servants.

The migration continues throughout *Bx:'sa:k*, from *sin ka'ri:* to *ma'ji se:r*.

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''Small maize'' is sown at *sin ka'ri:*. Those who have

tenants give seed and bullocks to them and leave for *ma'ji se:r*. They already have their houses constructed there, and

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some of their tenants—*go'ba:n* or *kan'dri:* living in them.

The tenants must vacate the houses for the owners when they return to *ma'ji se:r*. There are *huj'ras* and mosques at this elevation as well. Men of the community use the *huj'ras* for social interaction. During winter, they keep a fire going in the center of the *huj'ra* floor and sit around it, engaging in conversation and discussing social problems.

They stay in *ma'ji se:r* until the end of *Harh* [the month of June-July], then they move up to *ma:li*. ^ There are flat, open fields there. There is plenty of grass, so they bring

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Cuni ma'kai. See "a Kohistani taxonomy of maize", p. 37.

59

A *go'ba:n* is a shepherd who grazes cattle (cows and buffaloes), and a *kand'ri:* is a house tenant. See Glossary.

^In fact, most of the population shifts from *ma'ji se:r* to a temporary habitation (*ba'zo:do bek*) in *Je:th* [May- June] , but Hariq is treating this as part of the intermediate stage between *sin ka'ri:* and *ma:li* [the highest pastures]. People cannot proceed to *ma:li* until the snow has melted and there is sufficient grass for the cattle, or around *Harh* 20 [early July]. A contingent must also remain in *ma'ji se:r* until late *Harh* to finish the sowing there.

their cattle and graze them. People don't steal each other's property. If anyone loses his cow or buffalo and a person from another *za:t* happens to see it, he will tell the owner about it. People leave their cattle untended, and nobody harms them.

People harm or kill each other only because of stubbornness. Otherwise they don't mistreat each other. They also look after landless people—shepherds and Gu:'jars, *de'ka:ns* [land tenants], or house tenants. Shepherds are provided pasture for grazing sheep or goats; and in exchange they are supposed

to keep them in the fields to manure the land in spring. This is only the case when the shepherd owns his own goats.

He has to get the fields manured by them during *Je:th*.

Zarin: If people continue to migrate from *sin ka'ri:* throughout the month of *Bse: 'sa:k*, how do they sow their maize at different elevations?

Hariq: They start the sowing during *Je:th*, all the way from *sin ka'ri:* to *ba'z<5:do bek*. But they sow it earlier at higher elevations—during the beginning of *Je:th*—and later at *sin ka'ri:*—towards the end of *Je:th*. The sowing continues into *Harh*, but in any case it must be completed before the migration to *ma:li* in *Harh*

^Sowing times must be adjusted to both the growing season and the movement of livestock (especially goats, which must be taken through an area to manure the land before crops are sown). As the highest elevations are harvested earlier, they must be sown first. *Sin ka'ri:* is sown last, as it is not harvested until autumn, when people return from the high elevations.

*

But the livestock cannot proceed to the highest pastures

After the maize is sown it is left untended, and people migrate to higher elevations. The tenants are asked to bring the cattle later, because this is a nasty and difficult job; furthermore, families who are involved in enmity with others don't want to make stops on the way up.

The shepherds who graze goats always migrate with the owners of the goats, slightly in advance of them, because they are needed to manure the fields everywhere. To provide them a subsistence, the owners allow them to use the milk of ten to twelve goats out of every hundred. A shepherd can usually

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take care of a hundred goats. He can select the best goats for the use of their milk. The dairy products which are processed from this milk will last him until

the following autumn.

The *go'ba:n*, or caretaker of cattle, is given the use of a single good buffalo during the season he grazes them. He may work for more than one employer.

A shepherd who grazes sheep and goats is called *pa'ya:Lu*,

before there is forage for them. Therefore, in cold years, sowing may be delayed. The sowing of crops is in any case an entire complex of activities, including maintenance of terraces and watercourses, plowing and preparation of the plowed soil (by digging out corners of the fields and breaking clods of earth). The amount of time required to complete these tasks varies depending on conditions. Generally, work is carried on at different elevations during more or less the same time frame, often by different contingents of people.

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Do:n, 'a unit of 100 goats', which is usually taken care of by one shepherd.

and one who grazes cows and buffaloes is called *go'ba:n*.³

Zarin: Do you know anything about the migration of Gu:'jars who graze goats for other people?

Hariq: Yes, they migrate to different places. Gu:'jars who own their own goats don't stay with the general popula-

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tion, but make isolated camps. Their major concern is to find the places with the most forage. They graze their goats on the way up to the high pastures, so they usually travel by short stages, even though they walk all day.

Zarin: When do they migrate from *sin ka'ri*?

Hariq: They leave in the same season the Si:n people leave. In Palas and Jalkot they leave after the maize is sown in *Je:th*, because they have to get the fields manured by the goats.

Zarin: Where do the Gu:'jars living in Ko'ta: village in Jalkot *sin ka'ri* go?

Hariq: Places they might go are Lo'hi, Bari'ya:r or Gabar. They are supposed to manure fields everywhere throughout the month of *Je:th*. When that's finished, they take off. They go up to a place called So'pat, a *ma:Li* which is known for having the best forage, or they move along the small streams and find grazing for their goats. They stay there

[^]Shepherds may be either Gu:'jars or Si:n. However, a Si:n shepherd will work only for a Si:n employer. In the description above, Hariq is discussing the activities of shepherds in general.

[^]Lit. *du'nei jak*, 'people of the world (Si:ns)'.

as long as there is forage. In this way, they spread out in different directions.

Zarin: When do they move down?

Hariq: They usually move a few days after the Si:n in autumn. They come down and go to the owners of the goats and ask for ears of maize to eat. They stay with the owners for a few days and consume this. They are also given pot herbs [*Sa'ni*], The owners don't object to them, because they can get their fields manured by the goats.

When their employers move down to *sin ka'ri:*, the Gu:'jars move down with them. They aren't required to manure the fields during this migration. The Si:n return to Ko'ta:, but the Gu:'jars go on to several grazing places like the U'ca:r River or Sigu Bae:n, which is across the Indus River.

Zarin: When they move the goats to the grazing places, what do they do with the milk and the ghee?

Hariq: The goats will go dry by autumn [*Ser'yo:*]. So the shepherds don't get a significant quantity of milk from them. At the end of summer, male goats are allowed among the female goats, and thereafter the owners have no claim to the dairy products. As soon as they get down to *ma'ji se:r*, people hand their goats over to shepherds, who take care of them.

Male goats are separated from the female goats in spring [*ba 'zo:do*]. They are allowed among the female goats at the end of *Bha:d'ro* [August-September], and female goats become

pregnant in Just a month. Pregnant goats will produce kids in spring, during the months of *Ce: 'tar* [February-March], *Bae: 'sa:k* or *Je:th*. After the male goats are left among the female goats, any milk provided by the goats is used by the shepherds themselves.

If a goat dies the shepherds are supposed to present its skin and four legs to the owner as proof. But they can use the meat, except the legs, which provide some meat to the owners. People don't slaughter animals very often in Kohistan. So when they do get meat •they share it with relatives. People also dry goat's meat and mutton, for use during winter or any season. Otherwise they usually run out of meat during the winter.

Zarin: Do you kn'ow anything about the *qa'La:rj* system?

Hariq: Gu:'jars rent grazing land from its owner.

Thor in Su'na:iki is a famous grazing place. Gu:'jars come up to Chichar'gah, which is in Jalkot, and graze their goats there. There is no fixed rate of *qa'La:rj*. After a person has grazed his herds, a *jir'ga:* decides about the amount of *qa'La:rj*. It was La: 1 Xa: who decided that before the amount of *qa'La:rj* was fixed, a *gir'ga:* should assess the number of goats or cattle which had been grazed, because he did not want people to be unjust with each other.

The person who is appointed for collecting the *qa'La:rj* fee is called the *makdam*. He is always chosen from among the Gu:'jars, and is supposed to be a resident of the locality where he makes the collections. He is usually sent to the

Gu:'jars' homes to make the collections. If the owner of a grazing place, with or without accompanying people, visits the Gu:'jars' settlement, the *makdam* is responsible for arranging their food and lodging.

Zarin: What kind of maize do people sow at different elevations in Kohistan?

Hariq: One is called *p\li ma'kai* ['yellow maize'] . The other is *&e:i ma'kai* ['white maize'] . The maize sown at high elevations is called *ma'nu:r* which takes comparatively less time to ripen. Usually the various kinds of maize sown at different elevations take the same length of time to ripen, but some of them ripen earlier; and the maize sown at a higher elevation tends to ripen a little later because of the colder climate. *Ma'nu:r* is yellow. The other type of ^{zi rj} high elevation maize is known as *or'kai*, and has short stalks. It is also yellow. *Or'kai* is sown on the highest slopes, and *ma'nu:r* at relatively lower elevations. The maize sown at *sin ka'ri:* is usually a type of white maize.

Zarin: What is this white maize called?

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Hariq: One kind of white maize is called *da'bal*,

^{6 T} *Ma'nu:r* is the name of a place in the Kaghan valley, from which this maize is said to have been brought.

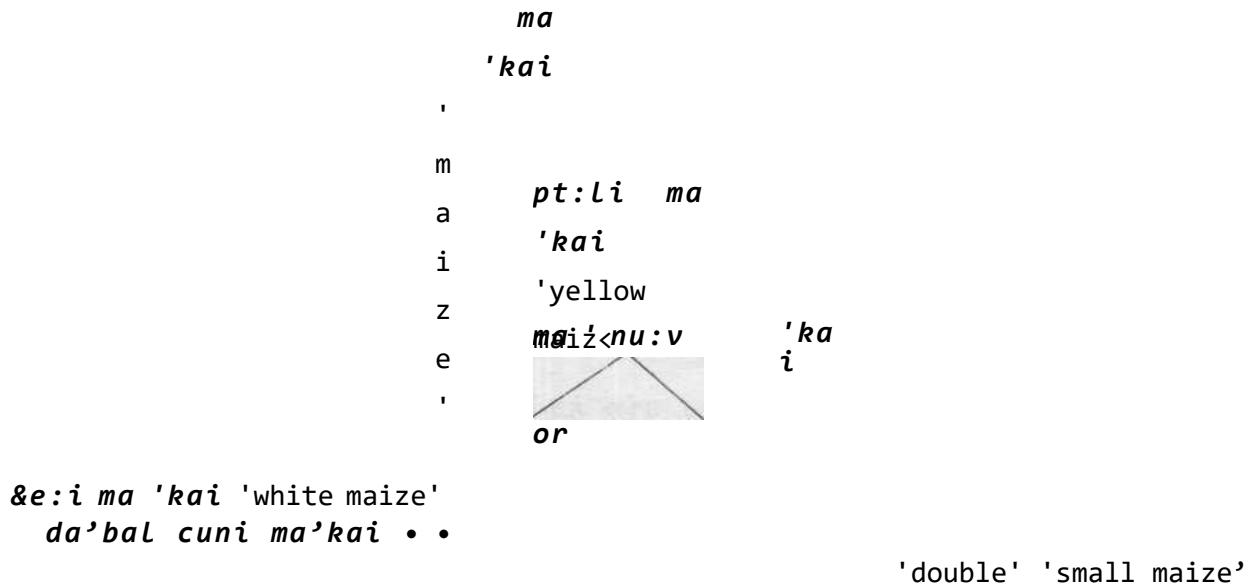
^{6 T} *Or'kai* is a Pakhto word meaning 'hot tempered'.

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A loan word from English 'double'. The grain is larger than that of other types of maize.

and the other is known simply as 'white maize'. It is also called *cuni ma'kai* ['small maize']. *Da'bal* has a flat white grain and a large plant, and gives a comparatively larger yield. Small maize has a round grain and round ear. It is sown earlier and ripens earlier; but otherwise the growing period for both kinds is the same.

A Kohistani Taxonomy of Maize



Barley sown at all elevations is called *as'harbi:*, and the major pot herb sown at different pastures is called *%a 'ni : . ^*

People who borrow maize usually borrow it at lower elevations and promise to repay it from the crop which will be

sown at higher elevations the following spring. The people living at *sin ka'ri:* generally purchase their staples in the the bazaar.

People get back to *sin ka'ri:* in *Magar* [November-Decem-

Urdu *saag*, 'edible greens'.

ber] . Before they leave the higher fields, they cut the
 70
 grass, do all the necessary tasks, and make arrangements 71
 for *go 'ba:ns*.

People who have businesses at *sin ka'ri*: don't migrate up, because they have work at *sin ka'ri*:. They may have farms at *sin ka'ri*:, where they go during the growing season.

Then when *Bse:'sa:k* comes again, the cycle starts over: The Gu:'jars turn up at the beginning of *Je:th* to get the fields manured, and the migration of the Si:n begins again. People leave their provisions, like salt or grain, in their houses—there is nothing they need to worry about except rain leaking in. And *sin ka'ri*: becomes deserted again.

70
 A grass which occurs naturally grows in fallow areas. It is irrigated and harvested for use as fodder for cattle during winter months; the custom of harvesting it collectively is called *ha'Sar*.

71
 Cows and buffaloes are kept at *ma'ji se:r* during the winter. Goats and sheep are handed over to shepherds. Those cows and buffaloes found at *sin ka'ri*: belong to people who do not migrate for one reason or another.

COMMENTARY

Oral History of Palas and Jalkot

Some substantiation for Hariq¹s account can be found in the pages of Biddulph and Leitner. Biddulph mentions two campaigns against Chilas by the Maharaja of Kashmir, campaigns of which Leitner provides a detailed description.

The Maharaja's Dogra troops attacked Chilas Fort in 1850, in reprisal for Chilasi raids against Astor, but were badly defeated by the Chilasis and their "Yaghistani" allies (including forces from Kolai, Palas and Jalkot). The following year the Dogras succeeded in taking Chilas Fort, and the Chilasis were forced to agree to send annual tribute to the Maharaja, along with two hostages. But the Dogras maintained

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actual control only over Chilas and its immediate vicinity.

Leitner's unidentified Sazini informant provides a wealth of detail, including the names and homes of Kohistani participants. Included in these lists is an account of the Kohistani who prophesied that should he be killed in battle, his body would return to its native place. In Leitner's version, it is Ameti Khan, a YeS'ku:n of Jalkot, whose body falls

⁷²See Biddulph 1880:16; Leitner 1893:80-87.

into the Indus and is recovered at Jalkot (Leitner 1893:84)
Dogra efforts to control Chilas only intensified resistance

to them in the valleys of Indus Kohistan. The very word

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'Sikh' became a term of abuse. Because we know that it was used this way, and because, as Biddulph mentions, many Si:ns at that time still used the surname *Sing* despite their conversion to Islam (Biddulph 1880:99), we can only conjecture whether Dam SiQ and Boti Sir] were actually Sikhs or merely detested opponents of the Dar'ma (albeit Muslims).

It is worth noting, though Hariq does not mention it, that at about the same time, the Yusufzai Pakhtun had extended their political control northward into swat Kohistan, across the Indus River (Lindholm 1982:78)—a process that began with the Yusufzai conquest of the Swat Valley in the 15th century (Stein 1929:33). Thus in the second half of the 19th century, the Kohistanis found themselves sandwiched between two aggressive, expanding powers, faced with the challenge of maintaining both their territorial and their cultural autonomy. They seem to have achieved this by two means. First, their two-fold economy (transhumant herding and terrace agriculture) allowed them to exploit their ecological resources more fully than the Pakhtun could (Barth 1956:1082). Second, by adopting elements
 > of Pakhtun social, political and economic organization, along

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In an elegy composed by the sister of Phaju, a Ko'lo:c killed in a battle between Kolai and Palas, she laments, *Si- kdno qatle karegil*, 'the Sikhs committed slaughter*. The names of the chiefs, Arslan Khan and Qamar Ali Khan, however indicate that the combatants were Muslims. The Pal'so:c are called 'Sikhs' in reproach (Leitner 1893, Appendix IV:10-11).

with Islam, they acquired the wherewithal to develop a more highly organized, better coordinated political system (Jett- mar 1983:511-512).

While the relative importance and interaction of these two factors would be a subject for a more highly theoretical analysis, Hariq's account demonstrates that the Kohistanis were able to modify Pakhtun concepts to suit

their own ecological adaptation, as well as incorporating indigenous elements. Thus a Kohistani *we:&*, a Kohistan! *jir'ga:*, or *dalas* in Kohistan seem at first glance to be analogs of their Pakhtun counterparts, but on examination they prove to be quite different.

The *We:&*

For Hariq, the central issue in the history of Kohistan was the struggle for control of uncultivated land, and the need to distribute it equitably. Biddulph comments:

Land is Palus is plentiful, and much remains uncultivated. As has already been observed, this abundance has for some time caused the envy of the more crowded populations of Alai and Koli (Biddulph 1880:11).

According to Hariq, the Khu'ka and Man'ka were the first to

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employ a system of land distribution called

After a long time, the Khuko-Man'ka multiplied, so people decided to distribute the arable, but uncultivated land among themselves (Discussions:8).

7 4

' The Khuko-Man'ka appear from this narrative to be native to Kolai. According to Hariq, the Ko'lo:c are all descended from the Khuko-Man'ka (who trace their descent from two brothers named Khu:k and Ma'no:k). Tradition says that the ancestor of the Khuko-Man'ka was taken in brotherhood by the descendants of Ce'rat and Po'ae:s when he converted to Islam. All three *dalas* are presently found in Palas and Jalkot.

The basic principle of the was fairly simple.

After being classified into different types (agricultural land, grazing land, and high mountain pastures), land was sorted into shares [*rato*] of equal value and distributed on an equal basis to dualistically opposed socio-political groups. But when, on this basis, the Khuko-Man'ka asked for half of the entire Palas valley, trouble ensued.

The Khuko-Man'ka wanted half of Palas as their share, which the Dar'ma refused because the Khuko-Man'ka were not equal in numbers to them.... This was a source of endless dispute, quarrels and

conflict. The Khuko-- Man'ka enlisted allies from [Alai] and Kolai to help them fight the Dar'ma. In šar'ko:t the Dar'ma contingent numbered 400 men.... Despite the fact that they were all Muslims, they inflicted heavy casualties on each other (Discussions:8-9).^{nc}

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This disastrous civil war thwarted the settlers' common objective of increasing cultivation, as well as compounding the distribution problem when allies who had been enlisted by both sides claimed rewards for their assistance, sometimes directly and sometimes through marriage ties (Discussions: 9-10, 18-20).

The persons who are given credit for thrashing out the basic issues of the boundaries between the regions involved, and the allocation of basic tenure rights to the Dar'ma,

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The elegy of Phaju's sister refers to a battle fought in a place named Sherkot: *Ruge nile, Sherkot, bar-C biga hojowo*, 'In that green place, Sherkot, a great fight took place'. According to Leitner's account, 300 men were killed on both sides. If this can be identified with the battle described by Hariq, a rough date may be assigned to the event, as Leitner says that it took place "fifteen years ago". According to the various dates Leitner provides for the collection of his notes, this may be fifteen years earlier than 1881

or fifteen years earlier than 1886 (Leitner 1893, Appendix IV:10-11).

Khu'ka and Man'ka *dal as*, are Xwa:s, and his son and successor,

La:l Xa:. Xwa:s' lineage (the šam'ka) belongs to the Sor'ma

tal, which is credited with having brought Islam to Kohistan,

from Kro:r in Swat. According to Hariq,

The Ko'lo:c were included in the first *we:S*, along with Jalkot and Palas. During the time of Xwa:s, the Ko'lo:c used to give land to Ka'mins. Xwa:s objected to this practice on the grounds that it would equalize the status of the Ka'mins and Si:ns. He distinguished between the Ko'lo:c region on one hand, and the Pal'so:c and Jalko:'ti: region on the other; and thereafter the Ko'lo:c had their own *we:3* in their own territory, and were able to give land to Ka'mins only in Kolai (Discussions:18).

For Xwa:s, inclusion in the *we:8* amounted to inclusion in the

Si:n *qaum*, or ethnic group. This may reflect the influence

of Pakhtun thinking, as has been remarked (Discussions:13,

n. 24).

If Xwa:s sorted Kolai and Palas/Jalkot into separate land tenure units, for purposes of the **we:8**, it is La:1 Xa:

who is said to have established the boundaries of these regions.

X La:1 Xa: was a Dar'ma, and it was he who fixed the boundaries of Su'nariki, Palas and Jalkot. Co'thei Be'sorm is a place between Palas and Jalkot, which was taken as the boundary between them by La:1 Xa: (Discussions:10).

In the first and second **we:5**, all types of land, including agricultural land, **ba:nd** [grazing land] and high mountain pastures were distributed. All land thus distributed came under the authority of the **dala**; but agricultural land underwent a further process of distribution, whereas **ba:nd** and mountain pastures remained common property.

The basic principle of distribution of shares of equal size or value, among groups representing binary segmentations of the whole Si:n *qoum*, was carried as far as it would go.

....the *we:š* of agricultural land was done within the *data*. First, the Khuko-Man'ka and Dar'ma were given equal shares; then the Ce'rata and Poae:'se *tals* were given equal shares; then the Phir'ye and Sor'ma *tals* were considered for equal shares (Discussion :20-21).

As *tals* and *za:ts* are basically descent groups (if possibly somewhat mythologized), their sizes naturally differed, and a point was reached where distribution of land in equal portions would have been unfair. The strategy which was devised to deal with this problem is called *cuk'nei bag'ya:ran* and its invention is attributed to Sar'dat Ma'lik, "the son of

I.a:l and the elder of all the *gir 'ga: s*":

Sa:'dat Ma'lik's objective was to equalize the number of men in each *za:t* by re-assigning excess members of larger *za:ts* to smaller ones, provided both *za:ts* belonged to the same *tal* (Discussions:16).

As described by Hariq, the most common tactic appears to have been the grouping of *za:ts* with few members into single units for purposes of land distribution:

The Sao'ta and Haki'ma were joined to the Sermal'ka, and the Sao'ta, La: Haki'ma, Sermal'ka and Kar'ma were all grouped together. Still they were fewer in number than the Sor'ma *za:t*. So the Az'ta of Ga'be:r were added to the first group to balance them against the Sor'ma *za:t* (Discussions:21).

Hariq cites an instance of this type of re-grouping at the- level of segments larger than the *za:t*, but apparently

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See page 15* n. 27, for a discussion of the term, *auk'nei bag 'ya:ran*.

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only for the purpose of distributing non-agricultural land.

Hariq mentions an Incident when the Man'ka asked Sa:'dat Ma'lik to Include them In the Dar'ma share for the *ba:nd we:8*, as otherwise there were not

enough of them to get an equal share from the Khu'ka. In response, Sar'dat did group them with the Dar'ma, and grouped the Khu'ka with the Poie:'se (Discussions:20).

Individual **za:ts** employed another strategy to increase their numerical size, that of recruiting non-Si:n members into their lineages. Thus the Faqi'ra and Komi'la **za:ts** of the Phir'ye **tal** took Do:m and carpenter families into brotherhood in order to get half shares from the Sor'ma (Discussions:13-14). This practice possessed a certain religious sanction, but did not enjoy universal approval".

At the level of the family, elements of private ownership seem to appear in the system:

The men in each family took their shares; a man's share was called **mo\$ bag'yo**....The share of a woman was called **tago**. A male child had a share equivalent to that of an adult woman (Discussions:21).

We:£ was practiced every three years in former times, and every adult male was entitled to his share (Discussions : 11) .

Thus, so far as agricultural land was concerned, entitlement to land of individuals, as members of families, **za:ts**, **tals** and **dalas**, and ultimately as members of the Si:n **qoum**, was the final result of the whole process and possibly its **raison d'etre**. Hariq is silent on the matter of whether the actual title to the land rested with the individual, or

the **za:t**. There is evidence that the individual exercised considerable control over the disposition of his or her own share. An individual could choose to leave his land in trust with someone else when migrating out of Kohistan.)^ A woman was entitled to claim her **tago** from her natal family and merge it with her husband's land. But since the economic significance of a single share, particularly a **tago**, was not very great, the system must have encouraged people to pool their resources and farm their land collectively. At the **we:8** of Xur'gi:, the decision to give Grandmother the land beyond the large rock as **ago** was a collective one (Discus- ^-0 sions:20).

With the abandonment of (Discussions:11) and the institution of *ƒari'ya:t* laws of inheritance (Discussions : 21), the trend toward a de facto pattern of individual freeholding must have increased. Hariq says:

People still hold the property which was given to them in the *we:š* in ancient times. They have unrestricted rights over its use, and may sell it (Discussions:11).

That the descent group still retains some residual rights over land is illustrated by the principle of *%u'fa:i haq*, pre-emptive right', which stipulates that land may not be offered for sale to a non-relative unless the seller's relatives are unable to buy it themselves.

Assimilation of Pakhtun Concepts and Practices

The Kohistani *we:2* was implemented in a *jir'ga:*, or council.

Both terms have been borrowed from Pakhto, but the institutions thus designated differed from the Pakhtun models.

In the Pakhtun *wesh*, land was rotated among the tribal sections, members of which physically circulated to new locations every ten years or so. Thus no single group was allowed to retain a permanent power base, and freeholding did not exist. (Lindholm 1982:33-34). In the Si:n *we:ƒ*, a form of individual entitlement (if not actual freeholding) was the final product of the process. Nor is there any evidence in the narrative to suggest that the Si:n ever circulated among the shares of land distributed in the *we:8*. A simple reason for this may be advanced: the Kohistanis probably were not sedentary even then. There is evidence that they already possessed an established pattern of seasonal migration, combining the technologies of transhumant herding and terrace agriculture (Barth 1956:1080-1082). The imposition of an additional migration pattern of a completely different type might well have disrupted the complex balance of these pastoral and agricultural activities. Barth points out that

the Kohistanis owe their survival on the margins of the Pakhtun-dominated area to their ability to exploit all the resources of this ecological zone. It seems probable that their we& would have been modified in such a way as to preserve existing transhumance patterns, rather than disrupt them.

The Si:n *jir'ga*: seems to have been rather more of a council of elders, than a council of equals. Hariq says:

Sar'dat Ma'lik....was the son of La:l and the elder of all the *jir 'ga:s*. People obeyed all his wishes, orders and advice. Elders from all *za:ts* were delegated to a *jiv'ga:* in which all problems were discussed, after which Sa:dat Ma'lik made the final decision (Discussions:16).

As the members of the *jir'ga:* were themselves elders of Si:n *za:ts* (thus by definition landowners), Sa:'dat Ma'lik was at the top of a pyramid of power; while the principle of consensus does not seem to have been excluded, Sa:'dat could well afford to make the final decision. This may have been an indigenous type of lineage-based concentration of authority—dignified with the name *jir'ga:*.

Jettmar has also pointed out that the political system which emerged in Indus Kohistan was not acephalic, and that the segmentary descent systems were able to form institutions capable of exercising central control over political processes in the group (Jettmar 1983:513-514). Sac'dat Ma'lik's membership in the Sor'ma *tal* (which is credited with bringing Islam to Kohistan) may also have endowed him with an extra measure of authority.

The terms *data* and *tal* bear almost no resemblance to the • • Pakhtun phenomena of the same name. In Kohistan, the 41 contemporary Si:n lineages (*za:ts*) are construed as belonging to three distinct patrilineal genealogies, named after male ancestors, called *dalas*. Segmentations of the *dalas* are called *tals*; the Ce'rata and Poier'se *tals*, named after two brothers who according to tradition were the first to migrate to Kohistan, are the two major segments of the Dar'ma *dala*. The Ce'rata themselves are divided into two *tals* (the Sor'ma and the Phir'ye). These *dalas* and *tals* do not seem to be actual genealogies, as the only names which survive are those of the "founding" ancestor, and there is no clue about the depth of generations. Nevertheless, a member of a *za:t* is by definition a member of its associated *tal* and *dala*, and whether these contain real genealogical elements or are semi- mythical in origin is of little concern

to him, as his membership in them is determined by birth and cannot be changed.

In Swat, *dalas* are political parties which cut across allegiances based on descent group and residence. In all of Swat, there are only two *dalas*, but each ramifies in a network of alliances throughout the region (Lindholm 1982:79-82).

Though it may not be easy, a Swat Pakhtun can change his *dala* membership.'¹

The Pakhto term *tal* refers to the ward of a neighborhood (of a village). There are usually three *tals* in each neighborhood. *Tals* are residential units associated with factions which must be represented in village *jivgas* (Lindholm 1982:79- 82) .

Traditional, possibly pre-Islamic patterns of inheritance and exchange appear to have constituted lacunae in the social and economic patterns which the Kohistanis borrowed from the Pakhtun. Women were able to inherit land in the same

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Lindholm 1984, personal communication. The Pakhto words have been transcribed in the system adopted by Lindholm 1982.

ratio as male children (the *tago*), thus giving them a definite, though limited, claim to the land of the patrilineage. They could also receive gifts from patrilineal relatives (the *ago*). That these practices introduced complications (if not actual modifications) in the Si:n is clear from the nar

native—it was the *ago* made to the Grandmother of Xur'gi: which formed the basis of one claim made by the Ko'lo:e to land in Palas (Discussions:18-19).

The practice of giving *tago* and *ago* may go back to ancient times. In this connection it is interesting to note that in pre-Islamic times, the Kohistanis were probably organized in exogamous kin groups (Jettmar 1983:513). The arranging of marriages by parents may also be a borrowed custom. Leitner

reports that:

Very lately there was a custom among them [the Kohistanis] that the young man was allowed to court any girl he wished; but now, from their contact with the Afghans, the system of "betrothal" at a very early age is introduced, and the boy does not go till his marriage to that part of the village in which the girl betrothed to him lives. The Kohistanis say that they have learned three things from the Afghans:—

- (1) The use of leathern shoes,
- (2) The use of long swords and guns,
- (3) The system of betrothal.

(Leitner 1893> Appendix IV:10)

However, the stress on maintaining good relationships with the women of the patriline (*ago*) may also point to the use of women to cement alliances. The marriage patterns of Hariq's *tal* support this interpretation. During the second half of the 19th century, when the Si:n were expanding their control over Indus Kohistan, while coping as well with threa's

from both east and west, the need to maintain a strong network of alliances must have been an important consideration. Under more stable political conditions, the religiously sanctioned marriages to parallel cousins (or classificatory parallel cousins) would have become more practical, as well as possessing the advantage of keeping land within the patriline.

Lindholm reports a similar trend in Swat:

A generation ago....marriage ties in Swat were over a larger circle than at present. Women were used for making alliances within warring parties, and men descended from sisters were expected to be friends. With the cessation of warfare, this centrifugal tendency has been countered by the desire of the Pakhtun to marry as close within the patriline as possible (Lindholm 1982-142).

Transhumance

There is evidence that the transhumant economy of the Si:n is of long standing. Barth describes the adaptation of the Kohistanis to their environment briefly but convincingly:

Pathan territory extends to a critical ecologic threshold: the limits within which two crops can be raised each year. This is largely a function of altitude....

Kohistanis are not restricted by this barrier. The Kohistani ethnic group apparently once straddled it; and, as they were driven north by invading Pathans, they freely crossed what to Pathans was a restricting barrier....

Agricultural methods are not very different from those of Pathans, but the net production of fields is much less. Kohistanis, however, have a two-fold economy, for transhumant herding is as important as agriculture. Sheep, goats, cattle and water-buffalo are kept for wool, meat and milk. The herds depend in summer on mountain pastures, where most of the Kohistanis spend between four and eight months of the year, depending on local conditions. In some areas, the whole population migrates through as many as five seasonal camps, from winter dwellings in the valley bottom to summer campsites at a 14,000 foot altitude....

By having two strings to their bow, so to speak, the Kohistanis are able to wrest a living from inhospitable mountains which fall short of the minimal requirements for Pathan occupation (Barth 1956A:1081-1082).

Hariq identifies three foci for Kohistani economic activity:

The people of Kohistan had their *we:S* at three different

elevations: *sin ka'ri*: [the bank of the Indus River], *hu:n aji* ['up there'] and *khanej aji* ['up on the mountains']. They distributed land in all three types of terrain. They used to migrate, and they still migrate, in different seasons from one place to another (Discussions:28).

When it is understood that Hariq is treating *ba'zo:do bek*

['spring habitation'] as a functional part of the agricultural

belt lying between *sin ka'ri*: and *ma:li* [the high pastures] ,

then his picture corresponds fairly well to that described

by Barth for the people of Patan:

In the spring, the winter village on the bank of the Indus is abandoned, after a certain number of nursery plots for rice seedlings have been planted. The population then splits up into its major component segments and moves up to the main maize agricultural belt, between 4 and 8 thousand feet. This first step upward is taken some time around April or May. Here the fields are plowed and the maize planted in the course of the next month or so. Around the onset of summer—i.e., the beginning of June—the second movement takes place: up to the lower pasture areas, at 8 to 12,000 feet. Here the cattle graze until the high pastures close to the permanent snowline mature, some time in the month of July, at which time the majority of the population shifts for the third time, to the highest camping sites, marked by very simple rock huts or shelters at 12 to 14,000 feet. In the meantime, many or most of the men have made a visit to the valley bottom near the winter village to do the plowing of the fields and the transplantation of the seedlings to the main fields. Apart from this time, only a handful of people, who tend to the irrigation of the rice and maize fields, are found in the lowland areas between spring and autumn (Barth 1956B:20).⁷⁸

Barth identifies four stages in the transhumance cycle of Patan. Some Si:n of Indus Kohistan, who are familiar with the migration patterns of Palas and Jalkot, distinguish five stages there. A camp between *ba'zo:do bek* and *ma:li* [also called *ma:li* and distinguished in this paper by the use of the term, *md:li* (Bj)] serves as a temporary grazing location between about *Harh 20* and *Pa£'ka:L 3* [around 4 to 19 July], especially when there is insufficient forage at *ba'zo:do bek*. A detailed account of transhumance activities awaits ethnographic observation in the field, but it is possible to mention some factors which might favor the elaboration of extra stages in the cycle. The steepness of the terrain, and consequently, amount of tillable land at various

locations, plus the difficulty of travel between stages, is a factor. Possible negative effects of deforestation and/or overgrazing, as well as climatic variations, may also be involved. A specific advantage of the location of *ba'zo:do bek* which was mentioned is its intermediate location between *ma:li* and *ma'ji se:r*, for people who have to travel back down to work on the maize crop.

^{Jo} Barth calls this the "maize belt", a term which does not correspond precisely to Kohis'tyo: Shina usage. The Si:ns call the main maize belt *ma'ji se:r*, 'middle fields'; another term, *ma'ke:n*, refers simply to any land suitable for growing maize, at any elevation.

As Hariq points out, agriculture is the mainstay of Si:n economic life. The staple crop is maize, and Kohis'tyS: Shina contains a well-developed taxonomy of maize (p. 37). Wheat, barley and rice are also grown, among which *Sa'ni*, or edible greens, is prominent. Dairy products are a staple in the diet as well as a cash crop and item of barter. Both goats (a category including goats and sheep) and cattle (including cows and buffaloes) are kept. Goats are usually grazed by Gu:'jars or other shepherds; but cattle are primarily the responsibility of Si:n women, who process their milk into *me: l* ['lassi; buttermilk'] , *brus* ['curds'] and *gi:* [ghee] .

In the practical process of combining agriculture with pastoralism, finely tuned adjustments must be made between sowing and harvesting times, and the movement of livestock, especially goats, which are needed to manure the fields before the crops can be sown. Thus goats are taken to fairly high elevations at the beginning of the season; sowing is begun first at the highest elevations, owing to the shorter growing season and also because they are harvested before the crop at *ma'gi se:r* during the downward migration (Discussions: 31). However, goats cannot be taken to the highest pastures before the snow has melted and there is forage for them.

The balance of this adjustment is delicate and can be upset by unseasonably cold weather. The use of *ma:li (B)* as a temporary grazing location may represent an adaptation to this challenge, as does the practice of carrying down *butho*

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'fodder* from higher elevations.

The demands of agriculture on one hand and herding on the other, tend to sort members of families into task-oriented, often spatially separated, contingents. The major activities involved in the preparation of fields and in sowing are done by men, in a dispersed variety of locations all the way from *Sin ka'ri:* to *ba'zoido bek*, mainly during the month of *Je:th*. These include repair of terrace walls, cleaning and maintenance of watercourses, plowing (*hal bo'ho:n*) and sowing (*bl: vi'yo:n*). Women dig out the corners of fields after plowing and break up clods of earth; and later in the season they are responsible for hand tilling (*ka'Si:*), weeding (*nin*) and thinning the seedlings (*bi'do:r*). But on the whole, they are more involved in dairying activities and in the collection of edible and medicinal plants and mushrooms, activities which take place at higher elevations than cultivation does. After going ahead with the main party to *ma:Li*, women make brief return visits to *ba'zS:do bek* and *ma'ji se:r* to bring lassi and freshly cooked greens to the men working there, to grind maize into flour, and to do hand tilling, weeding etc. Maize bread, along with lassi and greens, is the staple diet. Thus during summer women travel fairly extensively over an extended area

which includes grazing land owned by people of different *za:ts*.

g

79

Butho is fodder composed of oak (*ja'ri:n*) and holly (*a'ni:*) leaves, tied up in bundles with the bark of the *pa'So: ee*.

t

80

See p. 20 for an account of the manner in which the
was done.

-ni
..

Migration from *sin ka'vi:* begins in *Bae:'sa:k*, and takes place by increments. The first contingent consists of the shepherds, who with the goats must precede the others in order to get the fields manured. Then an advance party moves up to *ma'ji se:v* to reclaim houses from house tenants [*kand'vi:*] and complete other preliminary tasks. The main party, accompanied by the cattle, follows. On subsequent moves, however, the cattle follow the main party. A large part of the population has not been based at *sin ka'vi:*, but remained at *ma'ji se:v* throughout the winter, as a winter shift to *sin ka'vi:* is only possible for those who are able to leave their houses with tenants. Thus it is *ma'ji se:r*, lying at the elevation where the Indus tributaries form their broadest valleys, which is the real center of Si:n economic and cultural life. People have their farms and largest houses here, and keep their cattle and maize here during the winter.

When men who have travelled up from *ma'ji se:v* to hunt wild animals find that *ba'zo:do bek* is free of snow, preparations are made for the next move. This cannot take place until the pastures at *ba'zo:do bek* are ready, and the major agricultural tasks at *ma'ji se:v* have been completed. The main crop at *ma'ji se:v* is maize, generally of the yellow varieties. Vegetables including beans, pumpkins and *va'gom* [a kind of pulse] are also grown. When the main party leaves *ma'ji se:v* for *ba'zo:do bek*, they leave behind a contingent of men, with a few women, to complete the repair of terrace walls and finish the sowing.

Barley [*asha 'bi;*] is the main crop at *ba'zo:do bek*, along with 'small' maize, pumpkins, potatoes and greens. If there is insufficient forage for the cattle at *ba'zo:do bek*, they are taken ahead to *ma:li (B)*, which has a growth of grass fed by snow melt. Otherwise the cattle are brought up after the main party has completed its migration.

Ba'zo:do bek is essentially a temporary habitation, and 'by *Harh* 20 [4 July] , migration of the party as a whole to *ma:li (A)* takes place. With a stop at *ma:li (B)*, it takes them about 10 days, or until early *Pa\$'ka:l* [mid-July] to become established at *md:li (A)*. They remain there until the end of *Bha:d'ro* [mid-September] , when snowfall begins at the highest elevations. During this period, work parties must return to *ba'zo:do bek* and *ma'ji se:r* to irrigate [*ba'go:n*, till and weed the crops. A few men may return to *sin ka'ri:* to sow the maize there. A tenant may also be employed to sow maize at *sin ka'ri:*. After *Bha:d'ro* 20 [5 September] , a party of men returns to *ma'ji se:r* to cut the grass growing in the fallow plots. This grass is harvested collectively and used as fodder for the cattle during winter. This job, called *ha'sar*, takes about 20 days to finish; each person whose grass is being cut must feed the others in the evening by slaughtering a goat.

The summer months spent at *md:li* form a central motif in Si:n culture and folklore, and are so eagerly anticipated
That people who have become too old to make the trek create problems by insisting on being carried up, trying to postpone

the day when they can no longer go at all. People of different *za:ts* and families meet once a year in *ma:li*; and this is *m* so the time for love affairs. It is a paradox of Kohistani life that the very factor which is most essential for economic survival—social coordination of tasks and the sorting of people into contingents to perform tasks at diverse locations—affords women an opportunity to move about with comparative freedom, at precisely the time when there is a possibility of their coming into contact with men to whom they are unrelated by blood or marriage. Knowing this, men also look forward to the summer migration with anticipation.

Ma:li is also the place for the composition and singing of poetry, and a love affair with a woman is a precondition

8 X

for becoming a poet. Poets sing, or at least hint, of these clandestine meetings in their songs, and it is here that the central paradox is apparent: for while an illicit love affair is abhorred, the poet is esteemed; and Kohistanis in general are known for their fondness for music. As a reaction the mullahs have begun to criticize the composing and singing of poetry.

When snowfall begins, downward movement along with the cattle begins. People leave *ma:Li (A)* by *Assu* 1 [September 17] at the latest. From there, they check to see if the maize at the lower elevations is ripe. Barley will have been ready at the end of *PaS'ka:L*. After being harvested it is

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Not every poet has had such an involvement; nevertheless romantic love remains a staple of Kohis'tyo: Shina poetry

tied up in bundles with the grain still on the stalks, and left in the forks of tree branches for consumption during the following spring. Harvesting of maize and vegetables is now completed at *ba'zo:do bek*—which, however, is called *Sev'yo: bek* ['autumn habitation'] in this season. After the harvest the cattle are brought down to graze the stalks. People stay at *8ev'yo: bek* until about Assu 20 [6 October] , at which time an advance party begins harvesting at *ma'ji se:v*. Again the process is repeated, with the cattle being brought down after the harvest (which takes about 30 days) to graze the stalks. The Gu:'jars and other shepherds also turn up during the harvest with the goats, and are given

a share of maize (Discussion:3^). The goats are then turned back over to the shepherds; but the cattle will be kept at *ma'ji se:r* during the winter and fed on the hay that has been harvested during *ha'pav*. People at *ma'ji se:v* now collect firewood for use in winter. Maize is stored at *ma'ji se:v*, and a *kand'vi*: looks after it. If no tenant is available, the whole family remains at *ifia'ji se:v* throughout the winter.

Finally, around *Magav* 10 [25 November] , a party goes to *ka'vi*: to *sm* harvest crops there. As the villages at *sin vi*: are meeting places for *ka'* people of different families and *za:ts*, they have large mosques and common *huj'vas*. In the same way that *ma:li* provides opportunities for social and cultural exchange, *sin ka'vi*: provides opportunities for social, economic, and technological exchange. *Md:li* provides some forms of

emotional release rare in other aspects of Kohistani life; *sin ka'ri:* provides a glimpse of the world outside Kohistan. *Ma:li* is a central focus of Kohistani cultural life, whereas *sin ka'ri:* is a link with the rest of Pakistan, but both are *externally* focused, on the life outside the hamlet and the family.

By contrast, *ma'ji se:r* is *inwardly* focused, on family solidarity, on the livestock and the fields, and on daily domestic and religious practices. It is the place where people rejoin their immediate relatives, and where life has rigid social, economic and emotional boundaries. The real polarities of Si:n culture are therefore between *ma'ji se:r* on one hand, and the external world outside the family and hamlet, as experienced in *md:li* and *sin ka'ri:*, on the other. If the outer aspect of Si:n transhumance can be seen as a set of techniques permitting maximum economic utilization of an ecologically diversified setting; then perhaps its inner aspect can be construed as a set of cultural practices allowing maximum social and psychological utilization of the same setting. Who can say that both have not contributed to the Kohistanis' survival as an independent ethnic group?

GLOSSARY

System of Transcription

The Kohis'tyo: Shina terms used in this paper have been ascribed phonemically, in a modified version of the International Phonetic Alphabet. This transcription represents the usual pronunciation of the language; as Kohis'tyo: Shina is not used for written documents, no spelling system has gained general Acceptance.

The sound system of Kohis'tyo: Shina is presented below. Consonants enclosed in parentheses occur only in loan words from neighboring languages (Pakhto, Punjabi and Urdu).

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>H</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low	<i>a</i>	<i>a!</i>	
<u>Diphthongal Glides</u>			
	<i>/y</i>		<i>w /</i>

8 2

One written document—a religious tract—in the Chilasi dialect of Shina (which is closely related to the Kohis'tyo: dialect) has come to our attention: the ***Ka'la:m Ba:ba: Ci 'la:si:*** [Discourse of Ba:ba: Ci'la:si:], by Ghulam Nasir Chilasi, entitled ***Za:d-e-Safar*** [Provisions for Travel]. Abbottabad [no publisher or date mentioned], 254 p. It is written in the Arabic script.

Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar & Palato-alv.	Retracted	Velar & Post-velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>		<i>t d</i>	<i>k g (q)</i>	
Fricatives		<i>(f)</i>	<i>s z</i>	<i>s z</i>	<i>(x g)</i>	<i>h</i>
Affricates		<i>(ts)</i>	<i>ʈ ʣ</i>	<i>ʈ</i>		
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals		<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>v/</i>		

Aspiration*in/*

/S 2'

Suprasegmentals*ʋcl'ni*

/ ' / Stress (not marked on initial syllables)

/ : / Vowel length / ~/ Nasalization / "/ Rising tone / ˘

/ Falling tone

The order of letters in the Glossary is as follows: a a: **aeap**; b a a d
 d e e: f g g h i i : j k , l m n n r / o o : p q r r s ^
 s t \ t u u : w x y z z .

a g o, n.m., the ceremonial head-shawl worn by a bride at her marriage; a gift to a female relative.

a g, prep., up; up to. **hav**, n.m., blacksmith. **habi:**, n.f., barley.*v***Assii**, the month of September-October.*a '**k**a s*

,

Az'ta, a *za:t* in the Sor'ma *tal*. See Chart of Lineages, p. 3-

ba'co:n, v.t., to irrigate (a field).

bag'yo, n.m., share (of land).

moſ bag'yo, the share of land allotted to an adult male.
See also *mos*.

ba k, n.f., cave; hut.

'*s ' ni:* , n.f., the holly tree."

ba ba%'dya:l, n.f., the first weeks of spring.

ba 'zo:do, n.m., spring (season).

•*nd*, n.m., high mountain pasture for goats and sheep, used in summer;
temporary summer habitation.

Bae\'sa:k, the month of April-May. *be'k*, n.m., temporary habitation. *ba'zo:do*

bek, spring habitation.

Ser'yo: bek, autumn habitation (the same location as *ba ' zo:do bek*).

yo'duku bek, winter habitation.

be'iso.-m, n.f., the cultivable slope of a mountain.

Co'thei Be'so:m, Slope of Cothi (place name).

be'za:t, adj . , lit. 'without caste'; the term refers to Ka'mins, who excluded
from the Si:n lineages (*za:ts*).

Bha:d' ro, the month of August-September

bi'do:v, n.f., the thinning of seedlings in cultivation.

boS, a precipitously steep cliff; beam (of a house).

Ka:rsei Bo8, Cliff of Ka'ras (place name).

bru\31, n.f., a type of yogurt or curds made as a by-product of churning lassi
or buttermilk.

butho, n.m., fodder composed of oak and holly leaves, which is tied in bundles
with the bark of the *pa'8o:t* tree and brought down to *ma'ji se:r* from higher
elevations to feed the livestock.

Ce: 'tar, the month of February-March.

Gi'li:s, small-holding farmers of a status intermediate between *Si:ns* and *Ka'mins*.

...

Ci'the, a *za:t* in the *Phir'ye tal*, traditionally thought to be descended from a *Do:m* named *Cu:th*.

cuk'nei bag'ya:ran, 'division of that which is unutilized'; the distribution of arable but uncultivated land. See p. 15, n. 27.

Ce'rata, one of the two major *tals* of the *Dar'ma data* [group] of *Si:n* lineages, traditionally considered to be descended from a man named *Ce'rata* ['three shares; see *rato*].

Dar'ma, a patrilineal genealogy, or *data*, of the *Si:n* of Palas and Jalkot. See pp. 48-49.

de'ka:n, n.m., a land tenant. He receives one fourth of the crop unless he can provide his own bullocks for plowing, in which case he gets one half plus the maize stalks after harvesting, as fodder.

do zar'gar, n.m., carpenter.

do :n, n.m., a unit of 100 goats, which is usually taken care of by one shepherd.

dun'ya:, n.f., world.

dug'man, n.m., enemy.

data, n.m., the term designating the patrilineal genealogies into which the *Si:n* ethnic group is divided. See pp. 48-49.

di'di:ri, n.f., container for storing maize. *ta:T)g*, an oblong wooden *di 'di:ri*.

tu:du, n.m., a conical basket woven of twigs and covered with clay; another type of *di'di:ri*.

Db:m, professional musicians, classified as *Ka'min* by *Hariq*.

In Palas and Jalkot they are no longer allowed to sing or play musical instruments; they earn their living by agriculture .

gha:, n.m., mountain stream; river. In Jalkot it is pronounced *ga:*

Ni:Lu Gha:, a mountain stream in Palas; lit. 'Blue River'.

gi:, n.m., clarified butter.

go 'ba:n₃ n.m., a shepherd who grazes cows and buffaloes; may also work as a tenant.

guqhev, adv., upstream (dat. of *guch*).

Gu 'gar, a community of professional grazers of sheep and goats; classified as Ka'min by Hariq.

h
I bo'ho:n, v.t., to plow.

H
ṣrh, the month of June-July.

hd
'8ar, n.f., the custom of harvesting fodder collectively. *qer*, adv.,
hu
upstream (dat. of *hue*).

hikj'ra, n.f., a building set aside for men to meet. Unmarried men sleep in the *huj'ra*.

hi[^].-n, adv., up, away.

mam, n.m., the person who leads prayers in the mosque.

Ik'ka, a *za:t* in the Phir'ye *tal*, traditionally thought to be descended from a carpenter named Is'ha:q.

3 ak
, n.m.pi., people.

3 a
'ri:n, n.f., the oak tree.

JK
:th, the month of May-June.

3
Jd r'gan.f., a council of elders set up on an *ad hoc* basis. 'La:, n.m., weaver.
'min, a group of menial castes, which according to Hariq includes Gu:'jars,
Ka occupational castes and Do:ms. See pp. 13-14 and 25.

ktyn'dao, n.m., the peak of a mountain.

k[^]nd'vi:, n.m., a house tenant. He may be a member of any caste, including Si:n, Gu:'jar or Sarxa'li:. He may also be a close relative.

k[^].o, n.f., the olive tree.

Ktfir'ma, a *za:t* in the Sor'ma *tal*. See Chart of Lineages, p. 3 *g'Si:*, n.f., hand tilling of a field.

Katakj the month of October-November.

*kha'lo*₃ n.m., a measure of grain equivalent to 1 md. 10 seers. *khan*₃ variant of *khon*, n.m., mountain. *khar*, adv., (all the way) down.

*khil*₃ n.f., soft, arable but uncultivated land.

khojyo, n.m., consent (in one matter or by one person).

kho'jo:, pi., consent in more than one matter or by more than one person.

Kho'jo: *Kan'dao*, 'Peak of Consent(s)'.

Khu'ka, a patrilineal genealogy, or *data*, of the Si:n of Palas and Jalkot. See pp. 48-49.

Khuko-Man'ka, a compound term used by the Dar'ma to refer to the *Khu'ka* and *Man'ka* genealogies jointly.

*Ko'lo:c*₃ the Kohis'tyo: term for a native of *Ko:li* [Kolai].

La: Haki'ma:, a section of the *Haki'ma: za:t* in the *Sor'ma tal*

La:, adj., many.

Magar, the month of November-December.

ma'ji se:v, n.f., lit., 'middle fields'; a band of cultivation intermediate between the Indus River and the high pastures in Kohistan.

*ma'kai*₃ n.f., maize (in general). There are several varieties see p. 37.

*makdam*₃ n.m., the person appointed for collecting the *qa'la:rj* fee for use of land.

*Man'ka*₃ a patrilineal genealogy, or *dala*₃ of the Si:n of Palas and Jalkot. See pp. 48-49.

*ma:li*₃ n.f., highest mountain pasture, used in summer.

*me:l*₃ n.f., lassi; buttermilk.

*mho:'la*₃ n.m., religious scholar; maulvi.

*Mom'ra*₃ a *za:t* in the *Sor'ma tal*, also known as *Phu'phura*.

See Chart of Lineages, p. 3.

*mos bag'yo*₃ see *bag'yo*.

nin, n.f., removing grass from among cultivated plants; weeding

pag'ri:, n.f., turban; a gift given to a man to honor him.

Pal'so:c, the Kohis'tyo: term for a native of *Pa:las* [Palas].

Pa£'ka:l, the month of July-August.

pa'so:t, name of a tree whose bark is used to tie fodder into bundles.

pat'ka, n.m., gift (in the general sense).

Pat'no:o, the Kohis'tyo: term for a native of *Patan* [Patan].

pa'ya:lu, n.m., a shepherd who grazes sheep and goats.

Phir'ye, a *tal* in the Dar'ma group of Si:n lineages. See Chart of Lineages, p. 3.

Phu'phura, a *za:t* in the Sor'ma *tal*, also known as Mom'ra.

See Chart of Lineages, p. 3

Poae-. 'se, one of the two major *tals* of the Dar'ma *dala* [group] of Si:n lineages, traditionally considered to be descended from a man named Po'fe:s.

qa'la:rj, n.f., a tax paid on land or use of land, by Ka'mins, including Gu:'jars, in Kohistan.

qo:m, a term used throughout Pakistan to refer to caste, tribe or ethnic affiliation. Hariq refers to the Si:n people as a *qo:m*.

ra'gom, n.f., a kind of pulse.

ra'ha:n, n.f., the money taken by the owner of land left in trust with another person. The money must be returned when the land is reclaimed.

rak, n.f., fallow areas which are irrigated to allow the growth of naturally occurring grass, used as fodder.

rato, n.m., share (of land); section (of a *tal*).

Sarxa'li:, small-holding farmers of low social status, classified as Ka'min by Hariq. See p. 13, n. 24.

se:r, n.f., collection of fields; a hamlet belonging to the lineages cultivating the fields as an economic unit.

sin ka'ri:, any habitation on the bank of the Indus River. See following entries.

sin, n.f., river. *ka ' ri:*, adj. , hot.

Sor'ma, a *tal* in the Dar'ma group of Si:n lineages; also a *za:t* in the *tal* of the same name. See Chart of Lineages, p. 3.

&am'ka, a *za:t* in the Sor'ma *tal*. See Chart of Lineages, p. 3.

sa'ni, n.f., the type of greens or pot herbs most widely sown, especially at *ba'zo:do bek*.

Sao'ta, a *za:t* in the -Sor'ma *tal*. See Chart of Lineages, p. 3.

Sari 'ya:t, the Islamic legal code, or Shariat.

2er'la:m, n.f., the first weeks of autumn.

Sermal'ka, a *za:t* in the Sor'ma *tal*. See Chart of Lineages,
P • 3.

Ser'yo:, n.m., autumn.

Su'fa:i haq, a principle which stipulates that land must be offered for sale to the owner's relatives before it can be sold to non-relatives.

tu:li, n.f., 'toss'; a way of deciding an issue by tossing straws. See p. 7, n. 8.

tago, n.m., small share (of land); 1/3 of a *mo£ bag'yo* or man's share.

tal, n.f., binary segmentation of a *data*.

thoiki, n.f., summit of a mountain of relatively lower height.

u'jse:, n.f., seasonal migration.

u 'jse: do:n, v.t., to migrate in a cycle of transhumance.

wa:lo, n.m., summer.

we:&, n.f., the form of land distribution adopted by the Si:n of Palas and Jalkot, in which various types of land were divided among *dalas*, then subdivided into shares of equal size among *tals* and *za:ts*. See Commentary, pp. 41-46.

xa'tib, n.m., a type of maulvi who has religious learning and who delivers the sermon on Friday.

*yo:do*₃ n.m., winter.

*yo'duki zae:*₃ winter place (habitation).

*yo'duku ba:nd*₃ winter pasture.

yo:s, n.f., water powered mill for grinding grains into flour.

*za:t*₃ n.f., a patrilineal lineage group. *zse:*, n.f., place .

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The creation of Pakistan and the subsequent construction of the Karakorum Highway opened those territories that had remained closed during colonial rule. One of these territories was the area of Indus Kohistan, considered in those days to be populated by a wild and violent people. The increased educational opportunities in a free country brought to light the valuable historical records contained in the oral traditions of Indus Kohistan. Hariq, an old man of this region, gave of his vast knowledge to his fellow countryman, Mohammad Manzar Zareen and his American co-worker Ruth Schmidt. The discussions with this old man who died in 1975 yielded valuable data on the history, ethnography and culture of this region, some of which was summarized in this research work.

We hope that this work will be used by Pakistani social scientists to understand the background against which our society is developing into the modern age and that planners will integrate the data at the micro-regional level.

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